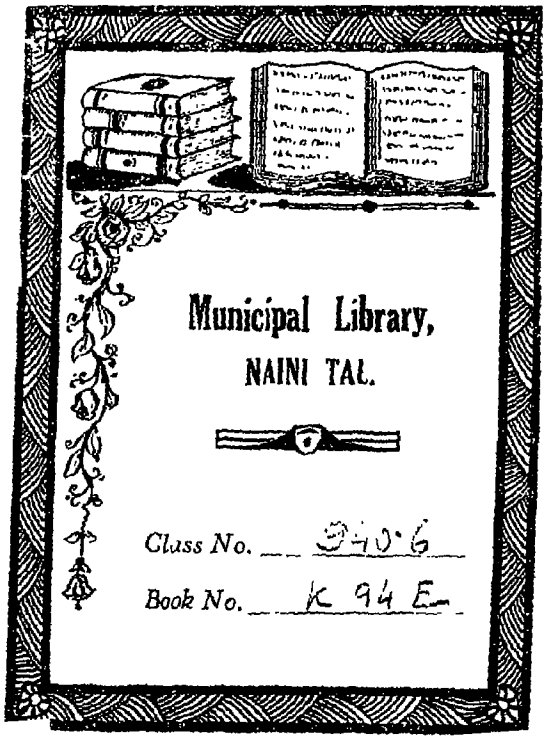

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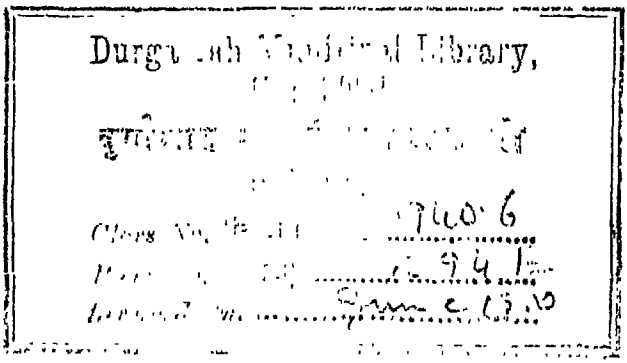
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PAUL SKOROPADSKY, 'HETMAN' OF THE UKRAINE.
FROM A BUST BY HIS DAUGHTER, H. H. ELIZABETH

EUROPE
IN THE
MELTING POT

VLADIMIR
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Note

IN AN ARTICLE IN the *Sunday Times* of 23 May 1937, it was said that Mr. Baldwin, apart from everything else, was, and often acted as, an amateur. It appears to me that the manifold and unprecedented developments in the world to-day can hardly be approached from an entirely orthodox and precise manner, because the solution can neither be found in science nor previous experiences. The only way to deal with such matters is therefore by instinct. In this book, which is neither a precise historical survey nor a collection of principles, I have approached various problems from the point of view of an ordinary onlooker who, armed with average knowledge and education, tries to find a solution and explanation of the phenomena surrounding him and the world in which he lives. In order to grapple successfully with the problems of to-day, knowledge and ever more knowledge is the first necessity.

In this book of recorded facts and developments I have approached these problems as an amateur, an amateur unprejudiced by past formulas and theories. Instinct has often filled the gap left by lack of knowledge, and in this preliminary note I appeal to the instinct of the ordinary reader to try and find his own way through the problems described. Even if he arrives at conclusions contrary to mine, this will only prove the truth of the French proverb that ' du choque des opinions jaillit la verité.'

I

IN PLACE OF PREFACE

ALTHOUGH I WAS BORN and educated in Tsarist Russia, I had the good fortune to be given a wider outlook than most of my contemporaries by means of opportunities for observing events outside Russia and comparing them with conditions within. On my father's side I belonged to an old, what you might call aristocratic, family of Imperial Russia, while through my mother I was connected with the landed gentry of the freedom-loving Ukraine. My mother's father, under the influence of European progressive ideas, took her to Geneva at an early age, where she eventually received a University degree.

In those days, the 'seventies of the last century, Geneva was already the centre of progressive Russian and Ukrainian thought. The upholders of these ideas had considered that Russia was progressing too slowly after the Liberation of the Serfs in 1861, and they had therefore opposed Tsarist Reaction and Liberalism, till they were finally black-listed by the Tsarist police and exiled as Revolutionaries. The Nihilist movement opened up an attractive perspective to them, and fifty years after the revolutionary Fronde was started by Tchernishevsky the whole movement was transplanted to the shores of the Lake of Geneva. Here its revolutionary intensity increased till the climax was reached in the first decade of the twentieth century, when the creed of World Revolution was launched with Lenin at the helm.

When my mother was in Geneva with her father in the 'seventies, this movement was still in its infancy, and its aims were Liberal rather than revolutionary. My mother always called herself a Liberal, but had she been judged by the European standards of to-day, she would have been called a Tory, for she believed in reasonable evolution and progress and drew her inspiration from the history of Liberty, which is the innate tradition of the freedom-loving Ukrainian people. Under the Absolute régime of Tsarism such ideas were regarded as ' red-hot revolution,' and had it not been for the fortunate coincidence that she belonged to an influential

Ukrainian family of landed gentry counting in its ranks many high Tsarist officials, and had she not at the age of sixteen married a brilliant officer in the Guards—my father—whose loyalty and unquestioning obedience to the sacred principles of Tsarist Absolutism were well known, she might perhaps have found herself classed as a 'dangerous revolutionary.'

In my father's family generals and admirals had succeeded each other for eight generations, so my mother's Geneva traditions were benevolently described as the mad remnants of her enthusiastically unreasonable youth. Nevertheless, these 'Geneva traditions' were deeply ingrained in her heart and soul; they survived the effects of Court life in which, as the wife of an officer in the Guards, she had to play her part. They remained with her up to the day when she met her death from a Bolshevik firing squad in the autumn of 1919 when the Bolshevik Commissar, reading out her death sentence, said that 'she was the greatest enemy of the Bolsheviks because all her life she had built schools, hospitals, co-operative societies for the simple folk, making herself popular, and thus becoming a great hindrance to extreme Revolutionary propaganda among the lower classes.'

The 'Geneva tradition' was also responsible for her blunt refusal to send her four sons to the privileged schools to which we were entitled by our birth and traditions; instead, we were sent to the general public school, and thence to Grammar Schools which were open to aristocrats and commoners alike. As she was always eager to widen our outlook during our secondary school education, and as she had considerable means at her disposal, she always took us abroad during our holidays. She said to us: 'I want you to learn, to observe, to compare both sides of the medal, to form your own opinions, and not rely on the narrow views of your contemporaries in Russia.' These holidays were always exciting, always interesting, they formed a kind of peep-hole out of the *Alice in Wonderland* life of class prejudice and class exclusiveness. Under the conditions prevailing in the Russia of those days, this custom actually amounted to a Revolution in the Family; time and developments made the closing chapters of our private history into a Family in the Revolution or, to be more precise, made the family become witnesses and participants of an upheaval which started in 1918 and is still raging in one-sixth of the globe, threatening, directly or indirectly, to engulf the whole world.

Following my mother's guidance we, the new generation of our family, acquired friends and knowledge in all parts of the

world, ranging from presidents to humble workmen, from professors to men in the street, thus gaining a practical education independent of elaborate scientific formulae. Having had this experience, I entered the Russian Imperial Foreign Office in 1910 where I was able to compete successfully with my colleagues who were hampered by class exclusiveness, and rise rapidly up the steps of Russian bureaucracy. I admit that this may have been unfair competition, for I had seen more of the world than those who belonged to the privileged classes and were tied down by class prejudice and by the traditions of Absolute Empire directed by a few who through privilege, not brains, ruled a huge Empire of 150 million, forming one-sixth of the globe, comprising more than forty-eight nations differing in tradition, history, religion, often even in language —all under the One and Indivisible Tsarist Russia.

I soon found myself in the position of Second Secretary in the Holy of Holies of the Russian Foreign Office—the personal chancery of the Foreign Minister Sazonow, and was still there on the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917. In consequence of my mother's connection with the Liberal Movement, I was then promoted to be Private Secretary to the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government. When this fell, I became a 'Revolutionary' in the sense that the tables were completely turned: the Extremist World Revolutionaries, the Bolsheviks, became the legal government, while we were the 'Revolutionaries.' They were the dictators of an unprecedented Absolutist police régime, the Soviets—we were the Obstructionists to that régime.

Those years passed like the brilliant flight of a meteor, full of exciting experiences, but with this difference: a meteor leaves no trace behind it, whereas those years, inasmuch as I personally am concerned, have given me knowledge and experience which, humble though they may seem to others, are infinitely precious to me. I remember how my mother would often repeat to us children: 'In order to be successful, in order to help oneself and others, three things are necessary. They are Knowledge, Knowledge, and again Knowledge, and, deriving from this, Experience.' Then she would add: 'There is nothing more attractive in the life of individuals as of nations than knowledge (half-knowledge is a plague), and the imparting of it to others is what we call Civilization.' I have kept this good advice well in mind, and in my humble way have tried to follow it throughout my life—a leaf torn out of the past and swept with the turmoil into the blizzard of the present.

Often in moments of great personal stress and hardship I had one consolation. Revolutions may attack you materially, may make your life materially intolerable, but the one thing they cannot achieve, however much they try, is to take from you your education, your experience, and your knowledge. As they have no means of reaching this Holy of Holies of the human ego, their hopeless, helpless rage therefore turns into material and physical destruction. We, the generations of to-day, have a great asset as compared with the previous generations in that modern science and the interdependence of the world makes events move a hundred times faster than in pre-War days. Even if the greatest statesman of our days, Mr. Baldwin, is right when he says 'Acceleration is not Civilization,' there is also a grain of truth in the fact that, if life is measured by experience, our generation lives five, nay, ten times longer than previous ones, because to-day one year counts for ten in the past.

Thus we have more possibilities for acquiring knowledge and experience, and for sharing it with a greater number of humble folk. Judging from my manifold and often very painful experiences, I have come to the conclusion that an attempt to move the world on progressive lines can only succeed if it is carried out in the spirit and forms of genuine Conservatism, Conservatism being a happy amalgamation of Tradition, History and Progress of the nation involved in the process of its historical being. In a world torn by controversy and uprooted traditions, lost hopes and illusions, maliciously replaced by shibboleths and slogans which veil the essence and appeal to the misguided emotional ignorance of the masses, raising them to a high pitch of passion, I, a leaf torn from the past, found my way to England, home of genuine Conservatism. And in that country I found the great eternal truths being proved. As these truths are not the privilege of the few, but the asset of the many, I dedicate this humble book to my English readers.

II

PRELUDE

WHEN COMPARING PRE-WAR EUROPE with the Europe of to-day, there is one main point that cannot but strike the unbiased onlooker, free from party-prejudice. In pre-War days Europe consisted of a number of geographically, nationally, socially, and economically clearly defined and self-contained units. The farther west one travelled, the clearer this phenomenon appeared, while towards the east things were inwardly vaguer under a rigidly formal exterior. In the West there was a unity of purpose, of endeavour—whether of individuals, groups, parties, or even of whole states which, as a result of varying social, economic, or political interests, were welded together on a basis of compromise and formed a coherent whole. A middle course was always steered here under pressure of that mainstay of state, the middle classes. In the eastern parts of Europe, on the other hand, where this middle stratum was weak or even non-existent, the units or states were governed by rigid formulas dictated and enforced from above by the few. Broadly speaking, these two phenomena were divided by the line of the Vistula into East and West.

Expansion outside Europe was carried on by European countries on technically rather similar lines, the various methods differing from each other only in minor details. Some were more efficient, some less. In this expansionist development two main forms could be noted: for Europe west of the Vistula, restricted in its geographical boundaries, the formula followed was that of colonial expansion, while east of the Vistula the expansion was essentially continental. Thus the types of the Colonial Empires were the exact opposite of the Continental ones in methods and means of procedure. The two outstanding examples of these types were Colonial Britain and the Continental Russian Empire. The expansion of the Continental Empire was based on military force followed, in case of success, by subjugation, annexation, and denationalization of the vanquished territories. In this case annexation and expansion were carried out at the expense of neighbours.

Therefore the Continental Empire, being almost continually at cross-purposes with her neighbours, was always seeking to form aggressive alliances with her neighbours' neighbours in order to attack the former. The Colonial Empire which was built up overseas, on the other hand, was based on commercial expansion actuated by friendship and mutual interest. Not only humanitarian, but also purely practical motives came into play, and in this case it can truly be said that 'Civilised egoism takes the form of altruism.' Compromise, Honesty is the Best Policy, Give the Other Man a Chance, Fair Play, Be a Sport —all these are not empty slogans, but genuine motives. The thousands of miles separating the colonies from the mother country did not constitute any dangerous psychological issue for the good reason that it was in the interests of both to work together, and both realized that in Unity is Strength. This, however, did not exclude occasional military actions and wars, but these were not regarded as a main policy, only as emergency or subsidiary measures. Military power was therefore not catered for when solving the problem of subjugation; it was only regarded as a means for upholding the ways of communication and for protection against foreign intrusion. Hence the formula 'Freedom of the Seas,' without which the entire structure would be at the mercy of accidental factors unconnected with the interests of either the mother country or the overseas dependencies. Hence also the recognition of national aspirations or, to use the modern word, self-determination of the overseas peoples, of their traditions, habits, religions—for this recognition constituted the best method of avoiding the unrest and differences so detrimental to both sides in a world full of jealous competition and the diverging interests of geographically restricted European states, whether they be called Republics, Reichs, or by any other name. Exploitation of the colonies in the sense applied by propaganda to-day was not really exploitation, but rather co-operation, guidance, compromise, fair to both parties, the large as well as the small. Gradually the large Empire grew yet larger because it was joined by many smaller countries, and its strength increased as its various component parts became stronger and more content in themselves.

The Continental Empire was personified by Tsarist Holy Russia. The principles on which it was built up were the very opposite of the foregoing. The main weapons for upholding unity were military power, ruthless subordination, and servile obedience to higher authority. It was possible to carry out the policy of expansion in this manner, as all its objectives

were contiguous to the main country, which regarded any differing policy or régime as a danger to the continuity of the Empire. Every régime, every political or social structure, has developed a code of its own, and as a country expands this code is imposed on new peoples, or it may be that it even precedes the conqueror. These codes would be camouflaged by veils of formulas and slogans and they were considered unchallengeable and beyond criticism, for they were upheld by those European countries which based their strength on military efficiency and on their power to enforce their will on the subjugated peoples or nations. The moral code of the Colonial Empires was free trade, self-determination, individual freedom within the limits of mutual interest, backed by a not too rigid religion which left a large margin for liberal interpretations. In the structure of Continental Empires, on the contrary, laws were enforced from above: rigid, dictatorial, arbitrary.

Tracing these codes back to the French Revolution, it is easy to follow the profound changes wrought by that upheaval in the Europe west of the Vistula. After a painful swing of the pendulum—the Napoleonic Wars in France—matters settled down in the form prescribed by the Code Napoléon. Here it is interesting to note how the extremism of the beginning of the Revolution quickly burnt itself out. A decade or so after the official outbreak of the Revolution was proclaimed, Napoleon appeared. He collected the revolutionary scum of the nation and enrolled it under the banner of his Grande Armée. This he then led out of France and scattered it on the battle-fields of Europe, Africa and Russia, while in the meantime the Tiers État, the mainstay of France, consolidated the Revolution. This consolidation found its expression in the Code Napoléon, the social and political basis of which was strong local nationalism, separation of Church and State—which first led to excesses because the Church was a supporter of the pre-revolutionary period—and the protection of the right to private ownership of the Tiers État. As time went on, the remnants of the other classes were either obliged to bow to necessity and amalgamate with the Tiers État or, if they managed to escape the guillotine, to find oblivion in exile. The guillotine was no respecter of persons and drew its 'clients' equally from among the aristocrats or the prominent Extremists of the early days of the Revolution. It was only a matter of time till the Tiers État—the middle class, founders of modern France—occupied all the key positions in their country. From

then onwards this class has never ceded its rights and has saved France from many threatening storms, and I have no doubt that it will save her once more from the experiments of our days, known as Popular Fronts, and their revolutionary aims. The proverb which says that a Frenchman has his heart on his left and his pocket on his right still holds good and will probably continue to do so.

The effects of the Code Napoléon were not only felt in France, but spread towards the Vistula, the eastern limit of European Middle Class influence. In Central Europe the rights of the Middle Class stratas were protected by very old laws and traditions evolving from old German institutions such as Guilds and laws regulating the life of the Burgs. Inside this limit the ideals of the middle class had since remote times found expression in the formation of Guilds, later embodied in the Magdeburg Laws, and enforced in the boroughs of Central Europe. Possibly it was this that formed a barrier against the spread of early revolutionary extremism until the time when affairs in France became more normal again under the guidance of the Tiers État.

Conditions were different in the Russian continent east of the Vistula. In the past, the forty-eight nationalities inhabiting that continent had continually been subject to the most varying influences, not the least of which were invasions by Mongols and other Eastern tribes. Somewhere about the tenth century the Ukraine, in the south, developed into a centre of Slav culture closely connected with Western Europe. Ukrainian princes intermarried with Europeans, while commerce grew into an important cultural link. This cultural development, however, was temporarily interrupted by the Tartar invasion. The effects of this were different in the north and in the south, for in Northern Russia the Tartars assimilated to the inhabitants, while in the Ukraine they were regarded as temporary invaders. In the former case the mixing of Tartar with Russian blood resulted in the customs and laws of the invaders being accepted and embodied in the life of the people, while in the south there was no intermingling of races, no habits or laws were changed, and after a few centuries of subjugation, during which time Ukrainian contacts with the west were broken, the Tartar yoke was cast off and cultural and economic ties with Europe were taken up with renewed vigour.

North Russia gradually developed into an absolute military power with Asiatic traditions, bent on conquering and subjugating her neighbours. By the eighteenth century military

Russia, with her rigid laws enforced from above, had grown into an immense continental Empire ruled by a thin upper layer of new and old military aristocracy. As more and more members of the landed gentry enrolled in the Tsar's army and Civil Service, they gradually lost touch with the land and the local population, so that this was left to be dragooned into submission and trained as cannon fodder by the military police of an Absolutist régime.

The illiterate masses of Northern Russia, who for centuries past had been serfs, were not able to own land even after their liberation in 1861, for the land, which was poor in quality, belonged either to the gentry, or was assigned to the common use of the *Mir* or village. Every six or nine years this land was redivided and parcelled out according to the number of 'souls' in a village, and these souls were temporarily allowed to use it. Owing to the primitive methods of agriculture this land did not produce enough to feed the population, with the result that Northern Russia gradually became industrialized, for the serfs were attracted from the *Mir* into the factories by the prospect of higher wages. Still they were kept down by the drastic Tsarist police régime which looked on them as potential cannon fodder. Their overwhelming majority was illiterate and, if ever any improvement was made in their lives by order of the Tsar, this was not from humanitarian reasons but rather in order to improve the standard of this cannon fodder. Military drill and servile obedience were insisted upon by the Tsar. As the power of the Tsars increased, the Church also became an instrument in their hands.

Peter the Great, who died in 1722, put an end to patriarchal methods. His one aim was conquest, expansion, and subjugation, with complete servility of all—including the Church—to the Tsarist state. After much bloodshed he succeeded in subduing the revolt of the Boyars (in this sense his predecessor was Ivan the Terrible), and then he attacked the Church by abolishing the Patriarchal See. These measures formed the foundation stone of his military Empire which, with slight modifications, continued for two hundred years, bringing Russia to what she was at the beginning of the twentieth century: an Absolutist military police power. The Patriarchal See was replaced by a Government body consisting of servile Bishops under the dictatorial leadership of a layman appointed by the Tsars. This body was the Holy Synod, its head the Procurator General.

From that time on the Church was merely a branch of the bureaucratic governing machine which trained the religious

feelings of the masses in the supreme adoration of all appertaining to the Absolute Tsarist régime. This method annihilated any genuine religion, for the officials of the Greek Orthodox Church were nothing but docile instruments in the hands of the Tsar. The result of this was that the religious desire in the hearts of the masses found an outlet in the formation of various sects which, owing to the predominant illiteracy of the people, could only be described as religious perversities, such as the Castrati, etc. In the upper classes, especially among the Intelligentsia, this outlet was found in the mystical teachings of writers such as Leo Tolstoy who, although a great writer, was a poor philosopher and preached non-resistance to evil coupled with complete moral, social, and religious Anarchism.

Another act for which Peter the Great is remembered is the founding of St. Petersburg, his capital of the New Empire. His reasons for doing this were twofold: he wished to be within reach of Western science, and he wished Moscow with her retrograde Asiatic tradition put in the background. He knew that Russia would need a strong and well-equipped army built up according to the latest technical achievements of the West, just as he realized that this would be impossible in Moscow, where the Boyars still believed that the Tsar is but a peer among peers, elected by them and sanctioned by the Patriarch. They still lived in the past, keeping their women shut off from the outside world, clothing themselves in richly embroidered *kaftans*, and wearing long beards. These traditions by no means suited the impetuous and progressive Tsar who, in order to learn all he could from Europe, travelled abroad incognito and worked as a carpenter in an Amsterdam shipyard. He studied the technical side of modern warfare and, thus equipped, set to work to build up his new empire. It could be described as a revolution from above.

St. Petersburg, on the shores of the Gulf of Finland, he called the 'Window to Europe.' Here, free from the retrograde tradition of Moscow, he was free to lay the foundations of his caste of military aristocracy, the future ruling class of an Absolute Empire. It was made up of the most varied ingredients: besides Russians, there were foreigners, even talented adventurers who in the search for fortune flocked to his protection from far and near. They thus helped themselves, but they also helped him to build his army and his Empire. The only allegiance they recognized was allegiance to the Tsar, and they ruthlessly helped him to suppress and uproot anything that seemed to hinder his revolutionary plans.

This window, however, was a window in the literal sense in that it could be suddenly closed by the orders of one man—the Russian Tsar and his almighty weapon, the Imperial Ukase.

The last thing the Tsar desired was that any European ideas—especially humanitarian ideas which were then taking root in Europe and bringing her nearer to the ideals of the French Revolution—should penetrate into Russia. He therefore hermetically closed his country against such poison. He needed European science, but not the European spirit of progress and culture. He realized that Europe, territorially restricted, would sooner or later seek to expand eastwards, and he therefore took the precaution of attacking Sweden, the most powerful European neighbour of that time. After initial defeats, he redoubled his efforts by applying yet more modern methods of warfare and finally, in 1709, he was victorious, defeating the Swedes at the Battle of Poltava. Here he not only defeated Sweden, but also her ally the Ukrainian Hetman, thus clearing his way for expansion towards the south. After the campaign he invited his Swedish prisoners to a banquet and raised his glass to the health of Sweden, 'Russia's tutor in warfare.'

This régime based on absolute military police power held sway in Russia, with only slight modifications, till the Great War of 1914. As we have seen, the Empire was ruled from the northern centre by a thin layer formed by the upper class, and far below were the illiterate masses of peasants and workmen trained in servility and complete subordination to the régime. Between these two extremes the place which should have been occupied by a middle class was empty. As a homogeneous body, this class did not exist. There was only an agglomeration of *déclassés*, people torn by accident from all strata, who had lost touch with the masses and who were barred from becoming citizens of the upper strata by written and unwritten laws of class. At the best they could become doctors, lawyers, or teachers, and, as urban and rural councils developed, they joined these as humble officials.

They formed a kind of Fronde or official opposition to His Majesty the Tsar, an opposition often caused by personal grievances, hurt pride, or discontent with their humble scope in a system which jealously precluded any intrusion into the régime of the few. The members of this middle stratum did not own land or enter the industries which, being built up by order of the Government, were also in the hands of the upper class; even if they happened to be rich they were always

despised and ignored. Handicrafts were limited to a few centres and consisted mainly of what is known as 'Folk Craft.' Class conscience as a unifying force did not exist in these people; their only tie was perhaps an inferiority complex and a sense of grievance. These remarks, however, only apply to Northern Russia, centre of the régime, in other parts of the Empire different conditions prevailed, but of these I will speak later.

My grandmother was a typical example of these conditions. She was a staunch upholder of the traditions of Tsarist Russia, and would never allow us children to mix with the children of 'other classes,' still less to bring them to the house. She considered that doctors, lawyers, or teachers, could not be treated as equals; they were merely employed to do their work, the 'dirty work,' as she called it, and spoke of them as 'just rubbish.' I cannot remember a single case of such people forming part of our circle of friends. She would often say to me:

'My dear, the Nobility is the salt of the earth. They are the servants of the Tsar, and are called upon to do God's will. They go into the army, the navy, and high positions. Do not ever forget that it is lowering and inadmissible for a nobleman to go into a law court or, still worse, to use a bank. The courts are for the petty mob, and the banks are all swindles. How is it possible,' she would say, 'you pay your money into a bank, "deposit it," as they call it in their jargon, and they want to persuade me that in lying there it will grow! It is preposterous! Ridiculous! Obviously they cheat others to pay me, and another time they will cheat me to pay others. If you are cheated, never appeal to the court, for that would be undignified for a nobleman. And never invite that scum to your house—this Tiers État, as you like to call it!'

This outlook was by no means an exception amongst the nobility, for my grandmother was typical. And my nurse who, having been born a serf, could still remember the days before the Liberation, would often take me by the hand and point to the night sky twinkling with large and small stars over our Ukrainian estate. 'You see,' she would say, 'the big stars are the souls of the noblemen, and the small ones are the souls of the humble folk!'

It is curious to note that when the Tsarist régime collapsed in the spring of 1917 and the Opposition to His Majesty centred in the Duma came to power, it soon lost control over the country and drifted into Extremism, Bolshevism, and chaos. It lost its bearings because it was not firmly rooted in the masses and

because of the 'professional opposition' it had no unity of purpose and no statesmanship. Even although the Window to Europe had been intended to seal Russia against outside European influences, humanitarian ideas did succeed in penetrating during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and these, as a result of the then prevailing unnatural conditions, developed into Utopian revolutionary Extremism. On more than one occasion Imperial Russia took to offence as the best means of defence.

Every régime has its own code of morals and ethics by means of which it can justify its actions in the eyes of the world and of its own subjects, often dressing up its actual aims and making them palatable for internal consumption. In Imperial Russia war played an important part, not only as a method of aggression, but as a method for ruling the masses from within, for dealing with the various opposing groups: the ruling class on the one hand, the Opposition to His Majesty on the other, including Liberals, Extremists, and Revolutionaries both in exile and abroad. In the eyes of the ruling class a successful war was not only a method of expansion, but it also served to prop up the régime from within. This class believed that, as nothing succeeds like success, a war gave ample justification for liquidating all traces of opposition within Russia by means of drastic military measures.

'First let us conquer the external enemy, and then we can discuss home affairs,' would be their reply to those demanding Liberal reforms. A victorious war meant glory to Tsarist rule and defeat of the Opposition, while the Opposition believed that war was a panacea for their demands. The Opposition reasoned like this: 'The Tsar cannot fight both the external and the internal front simultaneously, therefore when war breaks out we will boldly make our demands. As he needs help, he will be forced to make concessions.' Thus both sides regarded war as a help against evils at home.

The Extremists went even further and desired the defeat of Russia, as this would cause discontent and so give them an opportunity for staging a revolution. But as subsequent events proved, both the adherents of the Tsarist régime and the Opposition had gravely miscalculated, for when the desired war broke out in 1914 it brought about such a collapse that not only was the Tsarist régime engulfed, but the Opposition as well, and a third power, that of World Revolution, stepped in with Lenin and his associates.

Here I cannot refrain from pointing out a number of parallels which come to my mind when I remember recent develop-

ments and the behaviour of the Left Wing groups in England, those fervent disciples of Lenin and Stalin. They demanded that Great Britain should declare war on Japan on the Manchukuo issue; then on Italy on the Abyssinian issue. It was pathetic to see them bowing down to the Absolute Potentate, Haile Selassie, in whose country slavery is still recognized and practised. They failed in this, all except Litvinoff, representative of the Atheist Soviet State, who was decorated by the Negus, the 'Christian Monarch,' with the highest Christian decoration. The Left Wing then turned their efforts into an attempt to involve Great Britain in a war with Germany and Italy on the Spanish issue. Their bold cynicism even went so far as to demand first complete disarmament of England, then consecutive wars with Japan, Italy, and Germany.

We see that every defeat of Tsarist Russia played into the hands of the Opposition. The defeat in the Crimea brought about the Liberation of the Serfs in 1861 and the Judicial Reforms of 1864. When the Tsarist régime had recovered from this blow, a strong reaction set in. Granted rights were curtailed, altered, and counteracted by laws and decrees. Then the defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 led first to an outburst of revolution, then to the granting of a Constitution with a curtailed parliament, the Duma, which pacified the country. This again, as soon as the Tsarist régime recovered, was gradually curtailed and suppressed. The Great War of 1914 also seemed full of promise to both sides in Russia. But they both miscalculated, for Russia, unable to stand the strain of an unprecedented war in which the Central Powers brilliantly displayed the advantages of concentrated attack on the inside lines of communication, was defeated. This defeat was the *coup de grâce* to a crumpling, out-of-date régime, and it brought to the fore, not the Duma and all that stood behind it, but the third force, that of Lenin.

In this connection it would be of interest to repeat what I might call a prophetic talk I had with Lenin—then Ulianow—in Zürich in 1908.

It must be kept in mind that after the Revolution of 1904–5 was put down and a Constitution granted the Tsarist Government, recovering from the blow, tried in its usual manner to take back what it had been forced to grant. The rights of the Duma were curtailed by laws limiting the franchise, bogus lawsuits were launched against prominent leaders and other devices invented in order to force the Opposition into submission. The Extremist groups were simply dealt with by

means of imprisonment or banishment to Siberia. Opposition was for the time being silenced and Extremism seemed routed, its members being either exiled or else they took refuge abroad. Soon centres of Revolution began to be formed in European countries whose laws more or less openly allowed asylum to political refugees. France, as the ally of Russia, had however to be avoided by these refugees. They chose England and Switzerland as centres for their work in preparing a Russian Revolution, and the French Government closed its eyes when the Tsarist Okhrana chose France as a centre for counter-revolution and espionage against Revolutionaries. The Russian Government appointed the most talented political agents to carry on this work, and these were assisted by *agents provocateurs*. Thus Paris became the centre of the clandestine work of the Okhrana, London and Switzerland that of the Revolutionaries.

The Revolutionaries worked in two allied parties: the Social Revolutionary Party, which concentrated its efforts on preparing revolution amongst the agrarian population of Russia, and the Social Democratic or Workmen's Party, which worked among the proletarians in industry. Both parties consisted mainly of Revolutionaries springing from the extreme Left Wing of the Intelligentsia, a large percentage being Jews. As the Jews had been very badly treated in Tsarist Russia, they grew embittered and joined the Extremists. But the Jewish problem I will discuss later.

Geneva, Zürich, Berne soon became infested with Revolutionaries who, so long as they did not stir up trouble in Switzerland, were left to their own devices by the local authorities. Their work proceeded well, for they received help from many sources, both from those who saw in Russia the reactionary centre of Europe and desired its downfall, and from those countries and governments who, dreading the force of an expansionist Russian Military Empire, could not but sympathize with revolutionary activities against it. As Russia undertook severer measures to suppress opposition, the revolutionary centres abroad increased their activities and were joined by increasing numbers of exiles.

The Okhrana, on the other hand, realized that the Revolutionaries of all shades were a united body and also saw the increasing support they were receiving from both individuals and governments desirous of Russia's downfall. It therefore decided that it was necessary to split the Revolutionary parties at their root, and this was carried out with the help of *agents provocateurs* who, working at the centres, were doing good work

for it. The plan adopted was a *reductio ad absurdum* : a Revolutionary Party of extreme tendencies was formed by the Okhrana, its programme scientifically worked out in its own dreaded offices in St. Petersburg, and then introduced in the Social Democratic centres abroad by the agents who had succeeded in establishing themselves in these centres both in England and Switzerland.

The result was as anticipated and the parties split, forming a left-wing or Bolshevik group (formed from the word *bolshe* or more, therefore Maximalist) and a Menshevik group (*menshe* or less), according to their more or less extreme programme. Of the eleven members forming the Bolshevik group more than half were *agents provocateurs* acting under the orders of the Okhrana, whilst among the genuine Extremists was Lenin—then Ulianow—and Vorovski (after the Bolshevik Revolution the latter was killed in Lausanne by Konradi, a Swiss, whose whole family had been murdered in Petrograd by order of the Soviets).

When the Russian Revolution broke out in March 1917, the first thing the mob did at the instigation of the Bolshevik leaders was to loot and burn to the ground the entire Okhrana building, for the leaders feared that if it was discovered in the archives that they were not genuine Revolutionaries but paid agents of the Okhrana, they would be torn to pieces by the mob.

My talk with Lenin took place in Zürich, neat, peaceful town with solid middle-class traditions, where the plans for World Revolution were being prepared. In those surroundings the whole thing seemed unreal, ridiculously preposterous. The flat where Lenin worked was in a suburb, in a workmen's tenement. I was introduced to him by a former Russian tutor who had turned Revolutionary as a consequence of Tsarist persecution. After imprisonment and then exile he had escaped and found an asylum in Switzerland, where he played an active part in the work of the S.D. centre. I was taken into a large square room littered all over with pamphlets, newspaper cuttings, and posters. The centre of the room was filled by a large table which, with one chair, formed the only furniture. The table also was covered with piles of papers. On the walls were pinned more cuttings and illustrations from newspapers. Shabbily dressed people passed in and out without taking the slightest notice of me. Their hair was uncouth, their voices harsh and noisy. The room was dense with tobacco smoke, cigarette ends lay about everywhere. What a contrast to the peaceful atmosphere of Zürich ! Time

also appeared to be different and the twenty-four hours divided arbitrarily: some people slept while others worked, they ate when they happened to be hungry, usually a sandwich munched at a meeting or while walking. It was a topsy-turvy world populated by topsy-turvy people. The coming and going seemed endless. Every time the door opened, the draught sent the papers fluttering all over the place—but nobody cared, and nobody tidied the room. All these feverish activities reminded me that I was in a crater whence a crazy Utopia was to be launched for the regeneration of the world. A poor advertisement for the future world! I thought, as I looked on in amazement. No wonder that the Swiss police regarded them as quite mad and therefore harmless.

At last my ex-tutor ushered in a small stocky man, shabbily dressed. His collar and tie had come undone, revealing part of his bare neck. He told me that he was glad to meet me, for Peter Egorovitch had told him how kind my family had been to him in Russia and how we had helped him when he was exiled. Then, as I was offered the one chair in the room, Ulianow and Peter Egorovitch swept the papers from one corner of the table and sat there, dangling their shabbily shod feet. Ulianow's eyes were fixed on me like two black buttons glowing in his clear-cut face: I could not make out whether his smile was condescending or sarcastic, for his Mongolian features did not disclose his thoughts. His movements were nervous, but well controlled. He said that he had heard I was interested in their movement, and that it was all simple and open. Then why all this secrecy? I could not help wondering.

"You want to know how we envisage the future," he began. "I say the future emphatically, because you know that the present is pretty gloomy, Tsarist Reaction has set in and will continue for some years. I do not agree with my Comrades, for they do not wish to study the present and think that this reaction is not worth discussing. Only to mention it to them is like treading on their pet corn!" he smiled. "But I, on the contrary, am never tired of repeating: Study the present, this Reaction—with a capital R—is giving us the greatest opportunity a Revolutionary party ever had in the history of humanity—a chance to prepare for the future. Reaction is our best ally. You seem to doubt," he interrupted himself, as though reading my thoughts, "but you wanted to know how I envisage the future—well, here it is," and he laughed. "We intend to take Russia unawares, remember this! and turn it into a forcing ground for Socialism and ultimately Communism unprecedented in history. We will succeed, even if we do not

retain power for long in the first place, but we will succeed in engraving the principles of Socialism and Communism in the hearts of the proletarians of the world, and in thrusting fear and terror into the hearts of our enemies."

"Fear and terror?" I asked.

"Yes, they are the greatest weapons in our hands. Besides, the human organism under the influence of terror systematically applied loses its balance and becomes an amorphous mass, a pliable clay to be moulded into a statue of our future achievements. Fear, terror, jealousy, hunger, sex—all the primitive instincts, base ones you would call them, they are our strong allies, and by using them systematically the future will be ours. And when I say future, I mean it, a future in our lifetime," he added.

All this at first struck me as undiluted cynicism, but his manner of speaking proved that it was Utopian or religious lunacy regarded by him as an eternal truth which nothing could prevent coming to pass. Even so I began to argue, pointing out that the Russian people, 90 per cent illiterate, would never understand or accept his high principles of Socialism or Communism. "Apparently you see no difference between Socialism and Communism," I said, "and as far as I can make out, to your mind Communism is—how shall I put it?—the whisky, and Socialism the soda poured into it: it fizzles out quickly, doesn't it?"

"Precisely, precisely," he said smiling, evidently appreciating my comparison. But I continued my attack:

"The masses in Western Europe, whose standard of culture is infinitely higher than in Russia, would hardly accept or understand such Utopias and would revolt even before their leaders and governments began to take notice of the spread of such revolutionary creeds in their countries. So can you even hope that the Russian illiterates would accept them?" To illustrate the ignorance of the Russian people, I described to him the experience of a recent motor trip I had made in Russia. It was the first car that had been seen in that part of the country and the villagers, on seeing it moving without horses, made the sign of the Cross and fled to the surrounding forests, believing that the Devil was driving it. How, then, could he hope that such people would understand and accept the principles of Socialism and Communism?

Ulianow grew slightly irritated but, quickly restraining his temper, replied: "I don't want them to accept or understand. I will force them to obey my orders and those of my Party. Do not think that the illiterate masses have no

approaches to them, for all that you, in your *bourgeois* terminology, call human instincts and prejudices will be grist to my mill. I will leave no stone unturned in that direction. See here," he added quickly, "the Tsars with three hundred thousand nobility rule over the masses and enforce their will on them—so why should not I build up my own nobility and succeed in enforcing my will on the masses? More especially as this will be for the benefit of future humanity."[1]

It was now my turn to be irritated. "I don't know about the benefit of future humanity," I said, "but I do know that this experiment will result in a Jacquerie with fifty or sixty million killed, quite apart from the material destruction which must accompany it. And may I say that if it comes, this Jacquerie will result in your heads being chopped off too—remember the French Revolution!"

Ulianow jumped off the table and started restlessly walking up and down the room. "What are fifty or sixty million people if they are sacrificed for the benefit of future humanity? The price of such a future is worth more than the lives of those worthless wretches. Those generations," he added, "are worth nothing—they are only cannon fodder for the experiment. A practical experiment, mind! an experiment which will bring humanity nearer to happiness."

Involuntarily I thought him an odd Dostoevski pupil: First suffer in order to be saved in the end.

"I want new, entirely new, generations," he continued abruptly. "I will mould them to my own way of thinking and believing. They will be one hundred per cent Communist—Communism will be their creed, their fervent belief, as well as an immediate programme for their lifetime."

"But you forget, Mr. Ulianow, that in Holy Russia the overwhelming part of the population are peasants, and surely you do not suppose that the peasant with his innate sense of private property—primitive, if you like—will ever embrace that creed of Communism-cum-Socialism. I agree," I went on, "that as a result of a revolution you might succeed in building up your 'nobility,' your army, your Okhrana, because our present-day nobility is a thin and degenerate upper layer. I also agree that in Northern Russia, whence you yourself come, the peasants are half proletarian in their outlook, due to the Tsars having enforced communal ownership of land—the *Mir*. But in the Black Soil areas, the Ukraine, the peasantry have a strong sense of religion, of

[1] The Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. to-day forms less than 1 per cent of the population.

private property, and a strong sense of nationalism. In the north perhaps they would be prepared to accept your state religion of Atheism, for they have come to regard the Church as an instrument in the hands of the Government—but not in the south. And the patriotism of the south is totally different from the super-national patriotism of Northern Russia with its aims of conquest and the annexation of non-Russian territories. As soon as you begin meddling with Socialism and Communism in the Ukraine, it will react against you and develop into a separate movement for an Independent Conservative Ukraine, which will rid itself of all ties forcing it into a union with Northern Russia, centre of Communism."

"Oh, I have no fear of that," he interrupted. "I know all that. I will even go one step further than you and will proclaim complete freedom for the non-Russian territories to secede from the Russian Empire, which is their as well as our enemy. I will promise them more land from the landowners. I will give them all that. Never fear, I will give them enough rope to hang themselves with. And once I am firmly established in power my next move will be . . . Wait and see!" he concluded. "All these, that you call minor essentials, are tactical moves."[1]

"I know," he continued again, "that after the Bolshevik Party comes to power in Russia it will be swept away again by reaction—but the stronger and more ruthless this reaction is, the better it will be for us. I hate the peasant, that reactionary brute, but this reaction will prepare the way for our coming to power the second time—and then we will take up our experiment once more at the point where we were interrupted."

It flashed through my mind that I was dealing with a revolutionary maniac who was unable to think in terms of evolution, and as though he had read my thoughts he said:

"We are not afraid of reaction, as I keep repeating to my comrades, for they are inclined to be blinded and discouraged by the reaction now apparent in Russia. The worse the reaction, the better it is for us!" he repeated.

[1] In 1913 Lenin, at the Social Democratic Congress in Cracow, accepted the principle of the self-determination of non-Russian nations inside the Empire, and proclaimed their right to secession. But when he had overrun the Ukraine with his Red Army, he cancelled those rights, leaving them as nothing but a theoretical clause of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Every effort to secede was brutally dealt with by the 17 Red divisions and 100,000 Cheka troops, in order to keep the territories under the domination of Moscow. It suffices to point out that in the theoretically independent Ukrainian Republic 80 per cent of the administrative positions are filled by Jews, 20 per cent Russians (not one Ukrainian), all nominees of Stalin. In 1937 the same tactics are being applied to the Basques and Catalonians as well as to 'Oppressed coloured nations,' as the Soviet jargon has it, who are promised self-determination and independence.

I interrupted him and remarked that surely this was a dangerous Utopia, and asked whether Evolution would not be a better method.

"Dismiss that from your mind! Evolution is the sweet sugar-water with which the *bourgeoisie* tries to soothe the masses. I agree that in their hands it is a dangerous weapon—but not so dangerous as you would like it to be! You, and especially your mother, of whom I have heard so much from Peter Egorovitch, with her building of schools and hospitals for the peasants, are actually our worst enemies and far more dangerous than the dreaded Okhrana. Only Revolution with the help of the masses—whether they understand it or not—will help us to achieve the happiness of future humanity."[1]

As our discussion proceeded I agreed with Ulianow that Russia had no middle class worth speaking of, and that therefore the Intelligentsia did not constitute any danger either to him or to any other authoritarian régime. I also agreed that the Russian official Church had, since the days of Peter the Great, been nothing but a tool in the hands of the Tsars and their tottering régime, and that it could therefore easily be swept aside once the supporting régime fell. But I upheld my views on the peasantry, repeating that they would oppose any revolutionary experiments, especially in the non-Russian territories of the Empire. Ulianow, however, continued to repeat that he would force them into obedience once he was in power.

I then discussed the lesson the 1904 Revolution had taught, and reminded him how the Tsarist régime had strengthened its hold on affairs during the reaction following the 1905 Revolution. The Duma was now becoming a negligible quantity and if, as he hoped, this reaction was going to help the growth of Extremism, it would be technically impossible to carry out the Revolution. But he exclaimed:

"You see, Comrade . . . oh, I beg your pardon, Mr. Korostovetz! It is war that will give us our opportunity, and war *will* come between Imperialist countries. It is bound to come—and then it will be our turn. Down with War! and Proletarians of the World, Unite!" he stopped abruptly,

[1] These words from my diary are engraved in my memory, for my mother was shot in cold blood, roped to my brother, in the cellars of the Chernigow Cheka in the autumn of 1919. The Commissar Rak read the death sentence which I have quoted elsewhere, and said she had hoodwinked the peasants away from the path of Revolution. The death sentence was countersigned by Primakoff, at that time head of the Ukraine Cheka, later adviser to the Valencia Government in the application of mass-terror to the Spanish *bourgeoisie*. Since then Primakoff has been recalled by Stalin and shot in the Tukhachevsky pack, apparently for being unsuccessful in Spain.

seeing my mocking smile. He seemed to consider it was waste of his time to cast pearls before swine.

"But don't you see," I went on, "what you call the Imperialist and *bourgeois* countries are like good competitors in trade: they bid for the same object, and when the price rises according to the old law of supply and demand, there comes a moment when they decide to meet and discuss matters, and eventually agree on a compromise."

Lenin flared up at this. "No! not that! It can never happen, they are too greedy ever to agree amongst themselves. It must be either all or nothing, and we will play up to their greed, to their traditions and prejudices—never fear. You think that the cultured masses of Europe are primitive enough to fall for that; but believe me, they are well trained by means of hypocritical formulas. We will take good care not to shock them and their artificial standards of middle-class tradition. Human instincts of passion and emotional ignorance are the same everywhere. We will take all that into account and to begin with will give them a set of formulas that will make their mouths water. They will be far and away above anything that their *bourgeois* leaders have given them. Once they are sufficiently spellbound by our promises, their *bourgeois* leaders will not dare to say a word against us, for our formulas will have grown into a subconscious instinct. No doubt," he continued, "we will also bring in respites—and what attractive ones! but it will only be in order to *reculer pour mieux sauter*," and he laughed.

"I think all of you are mad," I remarked as I took my leave, "and I honestly hope that your Utopian ideas will never be put to the test. And I also hope that the people of Russia as well as in in Europe will realize the fallacies of your Extremism in time, and that they will not let any feeling of false security blind them to the ruinous experiments you propose to carry out with the help of your 'Nobility.'"[1]

I was thankful to get out into the fresh air of good old Zürich. As Peter Egorovitch walked to the railway station with me, he said:

"I was following your arguments with Ulianow very closely, and it seems to me that he is apt to exaggerate when he tries to make his point clear and give his arguments a plastic turn. But fundamentally he is right. We must wait and see. But is he not a marvellous person?"

"Yes, indeed," I retorted, "but his ideas are so entirely mad! Though I believe that all his bitterness and Extremism

[1] Lenin's 'Nobility' later formed the III International.

can be explained by the fact that in his youth he saw his brother being hanged for plotting against the Tsarist Government. He is a maniac, a fanatic, a genius of evil!" I exclaimed giving way to my feelings. "A theoretician with an inhuman knack of practical sense for evil."

As I sat in the train which carried me away from Zürich and world problems, I wrote an account of my talk in my diary, ending with the words: 'The man is mad—he will never come to power.' . . .

It was in the autumn of 1917 in Petrograd. The Soviets had just come to power. Russia was prostrate, bled white by the hardships of war and Revolution and was now in the grip of Lenin and his associates. The Red Rabble was actually in charge of everything. The Liberals and Moderate Socialists had produced their trump card—the Constituent Assembly, which was elected by general, secret, and free ballot. When its members came to Petrograd, Lenin did not worry much; he merely sent the sailor Jelesniak with a dozen armed seamen (the Pride of the Revolution, as he called them) to disband them. Later on these seamen revolted against the Soviets, and were mown down by OGPU troops. But when they disbanded the Assembly, not a finger was raised in the Russian nation to protect it. The mob only jeered at them. At the front, the army was steadily collapsing under the strain of four years of war on the one hand, and subtle propaganda on the other. Armed deserters invaded towns and country-side by the thousand, 'Taking the Revolution in their own hands,' as one of Lenin's slogans put it.

One rainy evening I went to a monster meeting that I saw advertised. Here I found that the Soviet Government was present in full. In those days it was composed of the Bolshevik Party and the Left Wing of the Social Revolutionary Party, the Terrorist group, which was then allied to the Bolsheviks. After I had been listening to some of the speeches, I began to realize that a split between these 'allies' was becoming apparent. At last the chief speaker rose to address the meeting. This was Maria Spiridonova, and here it would not be out of place to say a few words about this remarkable woman. In her youth, when she joined the Revolutionary Party, she had been an extraordinarily beautiful and talented girl. As she believed in action, she joined the Terrorist Group, which in those days carried out attempts on the lives of prominent Government officials. It was their plan to overthrow the Tsarist régime by individual terror.

After the 1905 Revolution, when Spiridonova was seventeen,

the mass riots that occurred were ruthlessly suppressed by Tsarist *gendarmerie* and soldiers. The Revolutionary Committee had put the girl in charge of a group selected to kill the Colonel of *Gendarmerie* who had been responsible for firing at the mobs. She discovered what streets the Colonel usually passed through, went there alone to wait for him, and shot him. After this, she made no attempt to escape although she was nearly lynched by the mob. The gendarmes saved her life on that occasion, but only to put her through a worse ordeal: they gave her to the gendarmes in the barracks. Later she was brought to her trial and condemned to imprisonment with hard labour for life and soon fell ill with tuberculosis. When the Revolution broke out in 1917 she was liberated and, being naturally regarded as a heroine, she became one of the leaders of the Left Wing.

When she spoke at this meeting, she made a fierce attack on the Bolsheviks in general and Lenin in particular, saying that he was an opportunist for his foreign policy. (The question of signing a separate peace at Brest-Litowsk was then being discussed, and had Lenin's support.) She denounced him as a defeatest and a traitor playing into the hands of counter-revolution, as well as a servile servant of the Kaiser. She appealed to the meeting to eject him from its ranks with all who associated themselves with his policy, a policy which was detrimental to World Revolution. She was cheered by the entire crowd, especially by the sailors, Lenin's 'Pride of the Revolution.'

This ovation, coupled with the jeers at Lenin, soon turned the meeting into an uproar. I was watching Lenin, as he paced up and down the platform. His face never changed, only the endless chain of cigarettes that he smoked gave a hint of his restlessness and discomfort. As Spiridonova finished, the cries of 'Down with Lenin and his confederates' echoed through the hall and was taken up by the people outside. But he calmly took the speaker's place amidst shouts of 'Down with him!' 'Traitor!' 'We don't want him!'. But he only went over to the woman and whispered to her, whereupon she raised her hand for silence. The uproar calmed down, and in a few words she pointed out that it was their custom to give every Revolutionary, even a misguided one, the opportunity for putting his case. Then he was allowed to speak.

He spoke abruptly, jerking his words out like blows from a hammer, and his speech was a eulogy of Maria Spiridonova and her sacrifices to the cause of Proletarian Revolution. "Nobody knows more than I what we owe to her!" he cried

amid cheers. He then proceeded to give a description of the gloomy days of past reaction, of the hounding of Revolutionaries by the Tsarist Okhrana. He spoke of the oppressed masses, of lost hopes, of the heroic deeds of those who gave their life for the cause, and then again of the heroism of the beautiful young girl who had shot the *Gendarmerie* Colonel. "She gave her life, her health, her youthful innocence to the cause; she paid the greatest price a beautiful girl can pay."

The hall shook with applause and the vote was carried. Lenin approached Maria with a paternal air, moved a comfortable chair forward for her and gave her a glass of water. And that was the end of the meeting. A few months later the Social Revolutionaries were dismissed from the Soviet Government and the leaders sent to prison. A young Jewess named Kaplan, one of their number, then shot at Lenin and wounded him. So she and other Social Revolutionaries had to face a firing squad by order of Lenin's Government

As I walked homewards that evening after the meeting through the dimly lit streets of Petrograd, shooting was going on here and there. This once-brilliant capital of a great empire presented a desolate sight. The 'Pride of the Revolution,' the drunken sailors, were looting everywhere, especially in the wine cellars. When I reached home, not without difficulty, I made some notes in my diary and, doing so, my eyes fell on the entry made after my talk with Lenin in 1908. I had then said that he was mad, and prophesied that he would never come to power.

In order to understand the present it is necessary to study the history of the past and from this we see that in the Russian policy of expansion Europe presented an insoluble problem. Russian policy therefore followed the line of least resistance, which led towards the Near, Middle, and Far East. Here, if she met with a rebuff on one front, she was able to redouble her efforts on one of the others. Thus, after the Berlin Congress of 1878–79, where a united Europe forced her to withdraw her victorious troops from the gates of Constantinople, she began to seek an outlet in Middle and Far Eastern areas, while after her defeat in 1904 she again turned her attentions to Constantinople and the Balkans, and success in this direction was her aim in the war of 1914.

As I have already said, every régime has its own code for dealing with situations as they arise and for proving itself to be in the right. Thus, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Europe was suffering from the revolutionary unrest following the Napoleonic wars, the Russian Tsars saw

in them a threat directed against the hereditary principle of Absolute Monarchs anointed by God, and therefore invented the necessity of the 'holy' alliance against the usurpers. The climax in the life of continental Europe was reached in the Vienna Congress of 1815, which played its part in causing the downfall of Napoleon.

The danger of Napoleonic invasions past, Nicholas I, still working on the lines of the Russian code, began a 'holy' campaign against Hungary in 1848–49 where the throne of Francis Joseph, Holy Roman Emperor, was being threatened by revolution. This was the last occasion on which the code found practical application with regard to Europe and a new principle had to be found to suit the circumstances. This time it was the principle of the holy duty of the Russian Slav Tsars to protect the Slavonic races of the Balkans against the Infidel—and incidentally to hoist the Russian Greek Orthodox Cross over St. Sophia, which had been turned into a Moslem mosque. The aim was to make the White Russian Slav Tsar head of the 'Third Rome' for the protection of all Orthodox Slavs. These Slavophil aims were boosted by propaganda and led to the war with Turkey in 1878. But the Berlin Congress, as mentioned above, for the time being put an end to these annexationist endeavours, so the principle of the Yellow Peril in the East had to be brought to the fore.

Here the aim of Russia was the annexation of Manchuria, with expansion into Korea. This plan, however, came to nought with the defeat of Russia by Japan in 1904. Then once more the principle of her holy duty towards the Balkans and Constantinople with the Straits was brought up and was the lodestar of Russian policy between 1908 and 1914. In this connection I must quote an interesting talk I had with Sazonow, the Foreign Minister in whose Chancery and 1st Political Department I was secretary. It was then the custom for secretaries who had finished their spell of twenty-four hours' service to be invited to lunch by the Minister, who would take these opportunities for giving advice to budding diplomats.

On the occasion I have in mind I was lunching alone with Sazonow and he, being in a talkative mood, broached the subject of the Balkans, where one of the numerous wars was then hatching. In his desire to point out to me the right way to consider this problem he expressed his fanatic conviction that it was Russia's sacred duty to expel the Infidel from the Peninsula and hoist the Cross over St. Sophia. He proudly explained that it was due to his diplomacy that various European Powers were opposed to Central Europe and on the

side of Russia in this issue and that both France and England were actually our allies. He explained that the plans for mobilization had already been worked out, the programme for rearmament decided upon and put under way. With the assistance of French loans, railways were being built under feverish pressure, all leading to strategical points on the German and Austrian frontiers.

"The way to Constantinople lies through Vienna and Berlin," he pompously declared. "The Balkans are with us, and France will be only too ready to help us so that the long-dreamed-of revenge can be carried out by the recapture of Alsace and Lorraine. Great Britain will take the opportunity of annihilating the German Navy and her merchant fleet." I was flabbergasted, for I had never realized that everything was so definite. I pointed out that Russia surely had her hands fully occupied in developing new territories, and that attempts to interfere with the Balkans, the powder-barrel of Europe, might lead to a costly fiasco; that the *sine quâ non* of such a war would be complete unity inside Russia—and this did not exist as a consequence of spreading revolutionary influences. I also doubted whether England would agree to Russia laying her hands on the Balkans and the Straits, for did not Russia and England regard each other as hereditary enemies, and would not possession of the Straits by Russia interfere with England's passage through the Mediterranean?

But Sazonow spoke of the enthusiasm such a war against the Infidel would engender and how it would unite Russia, even though she might be split by internal dissension at the present moment. Then he complained to me that my uncle, who was then Russian Minister in Persia, was not carrying out his instructions to allow the penetration of British influence in Northern Persia according to the Treaty of 1907. He was very bitter because my uncle allowed minor details to blind him to the greater issues at stake, that he did not realize that sacrifices must be made in the name of future gains. As a matter of fact he very soon recalled my uncle from his post. At this lunch, however, he concluded by saying: "Russia and the Tsar will emerge from this war as victors. The Opposition, you ask? That is all nonsense, pure panic. They will never dare to oppose us, but will join us—except possibly the Extremists, whom we can label as traitors."

While such plans were being discussed Lenin, with a diabolical smile, was watching developments in Europe and preparing his *coup*. The Opposition to His Majesty, centred in the Duma, declared that they would give their support, but modestly

demanded liberal reforms, reminding the Government of past promises. But—'First victory, then reforms' was the answer they received.

In August 1914 the seething cauldron of Europe boiled over and Princip's shot that killed Archduke Francis Ferdinand let the devil loose.

Russia's fate was sealed. Only few people saw reason and among those few was Count Witte, the greatest statesman that Russia ever possessed. He was the Grand Old Man of the old régime and it was due to him that the Duma was brought into existence as a sort of safety-valve for growing Extremism. But now his voice advising prudence was but the voice in the wilderness, for he was labelled a traitor, a defeatist, a friend of Germany, by those same reactionaries who in 1904–5 had begged him in fear and trembling to save them and their Holy Russia from revolution. All his appeals for moderation were scoffed at. As far back as October 1905 he wrote a letter to the Tsar appealing to him to give Russia a Constitution and thus save her and his throne from Extremism and disaster. In this letter he foresaw the Revolution :

> '. . . It is madness to believe that police measures can ever hold up a spiritual movement. The watchword of freedom must also be the watchword of the Government : there is no other way to save the State. Historic progress cannot be stopped. Civil liberty will be attained either by means of reforms, or of revolution. But in the *latter event liberty will only arise from the ashes of a thousand-year-old historic existence.* The Russian Revolution, senseless and pitiless, will sweep away everything, will destroy everything. It is beyond the powers of our imagination to say in what form Russia will emerge from this unparalleled trial. But the terrors of the Russian Revolution will surpass anything known to history. It may happen that the Empire will be torn in pieces by foreign intervention ; attempts will be made to realize the ideals of theoretical Socialism. These attempts will be vain, but they will have decisive results. They will destroy family life and religion, they will do away with ownership and will undermine the foundations of law.'

He concludes this prophetic letter with the words : 'The State must take the lead in the movement for liberty. There is no other choice.'

In the autumn of 1917 the third force, in the person of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, settled in Russia and Lenin immediately began to enforce the programme he had outlined to me in

Zürich in 1908. Like Peter the Great, he only needed Europe for her technical knowledge: he feared her humanitarian ideas and influence. He closed the 'Window to Europe' more effectively than the slack Tsars had done and turned Russia into an immense Soviet prison. It is symbolical that he transferred his capital from Petersburg back to the barbarian environment of Moscow. It is perhaps also symbolical that, like Peter the Great, Lenin died of an incurable disease contracted in Europe, against which Soviet doctors could not help him.

With regard to the efficiency of these Soviet doctors, an extract from his letter to Gorki (included in *Letters of Lenin*, Chapman and Hall, London) would be interesting. He says: 'Your news that a Bolshevik—or ex-Bolshevik—was treating you by new methods has made me really very anxious. God preserve us from "Comrade" doctors in general and Bolshevik doctors in particular! But seriously, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, "Comrade" doctors are asses, as a brilliant doctor once told me. I assure you that one should be treated only by first class foreign specialists, except in unimportant cases. It is terrible to allow a Bolshevik to try his experiments on you.' Apparently Lenin had that experience and how far this is from his assertions that in a Soviet State even a simple cook may be a Minister of Finance!

Who could oppose Lenin? Nobody, is the answer of the history of that period. The loyal army was at the front, in process of disintegration, its best units killed either by the enemy or by the Bolshevik murderers within its ranks. The Church? Even less, for it had lost its independence and force under the Tsarist régime. For the past two hundred years it had lost all control over the people, so was unable now to stir up enthusiasm for a crusade against the anti-God régime of which the state religion was militant Atheism enforced by Lenin and his 'nobility.' The middle classes? They did not exist, and those who should have taken their place were discredited in the eyes of the people because they had played the part of miserable demagogues from March to October, 1917, in the Provisional Government led by that clown of the Revolution, Kerensky. How could the people trust them, when instead of bread and practical achievements they had handed them the right to vote—a thing they dreaded and did not understand after centuries of serfdom.

I remember a visit I paid to our estate in the Northern Ukraine, on the borders of Great Russia, in the summer of 1917. A 'general, secret, and free ballot' was then taking place to

elect the members of the Constituent Assembly. The Provisional Government, which was made up of *déclassés* and the former Opposition to His Majesty, looked upon the Assembly as a panacea for all ills. But the peasantry, busy with the harvest, only grumbled and declared that the whole thing was only another trap invented by the *barins* (masters). As they elected all the criminals of the district I made inquiries in various places and always received the same explanation: 'You see, *barin*, the war is practically over, and all the deserters come home armed to the teeth. They kill us, they rob us, they destroy our property, and hinder our peaceful life. So we decided to elect them. Then they will be sent away to Petrograd, a thousand kilometres away, and there the Government will look after them properly, we hope, and we shall be free of the pest.' My servant was an enthusiastic supporter of revolutionary processions and always carried the banner inscribed 'Freedom.' (In the first days of the Revolution the chief slogan was 'Freedom' and this was synonymous with Revolution.) I asked him what this inscription really meant, and he immediately replied: 'You see, *barin*, it is very simple: formerly we used to mend your socks, but now you will mend ours.'

The people followed the lead of Extremism which promised, not reforms, but the immediate taking possession of other people's property. In those days we still called this system robbery; now it is known throughout the world as Socialization. In the meantime the Intelligentsia was debating about the Principles of Democracy, or the Rights and Duties of Free Citizens, but they were only despised as a negligible quantity. Certain local national movements, formerly oppressed by the Tsar, rose again, but they could not save the situation because in those days they lacked the organization necessary for carrying out a constructive opposition to Extremism.

Such a state of emergency demanded prompt and well-organized action, a revolution against Revolution, as I might call it. There remained the Civil Service Corps. This as a whole put up a stubborn resistance against the forces of destruction; but what could they do alone, one against so many? What was left of the army officers were ignorant of the intricate network of political, social, economic, and historical problems that formed the background of the events taking place; they looked upon the whole thing as a contemptible revolt of the soldiery and the mob. They formed themselves into a company under the White Generals, but this enterprise was hopeless from the outset owing to this ignorance

on their part. They gallantly took up the cause of the White Armies, but their only thought was to restore order by reinstating the old régime. They were fighting for a dead-and-gone past against the present and the future. They fought them all : Communists, Extremists, bandits, but also the local national movements which they declared were traitors to the One and Indivisible Holy Russia, and so turned these staunch anti-Bolsheviks into their enemies instead of making them their allies. By national movements I mean the Ukrainians, the Cossacks, and the freedom-loving Caucasians. But these officers were also hostile to the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Esthonians, the Latvians, the Finns : in a word, to all non-Russian territories which had made up the former Russian Empire, which they wished to restore in its Tsarist form.

This national problem is and always has been the Achilles-heel of the Russian Empire, which showed an outwardly strong front, but which was internally a colossus with feet of clay. And it will also be the Achilles-heel of Soviet Russia.

In conclusion, I must point out that the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the succeeding years did not take the constructive forms of the French Revolution because in Russia there was no Tiers État and because the non-Russian territories of the Empire lacked any national organization. As for the ' pink ' elements of the Intelligentsia, who did all in their power to help on the Revolution, they were merely laughed at or shot down by those who came to enforce Bolshevism in Russia ' for the Benefit of Future Humanity.'

III THE DÉBÂCLE : RESULT IN RUSSIA, REPERCUSSIONS ABROAD

THE RESULT OF IMPACT against a weakly knit body is disintegration into atoms and compounds ; this is the same in the case of the unities known as groups, parties, or even entire states. Thus the Russian colossus could not stand against the shock and strain of the European War into which it launched itself. The impact it sustained reopened old wounds, showed up the organic defects and internal weaknesses of an apparently formidable body, that of the One and Indivisible and Absolutist military police body of Tsarist Russia. The steam-roller, composed of millions of conscripts called up during the mobilization, was an immense burden for this huge weak body.

The conscripts were immediately passed on to active service without first undergoing the necessary period of long and rigid training and in consequence the Russian army was nothing more than a heterogeneous body lacking both the technical equipment and the discipline needed for carrying on an unprecedented war. Faced by European armies of an immeasurably higher standard, it was not long before the best cadres were wiped out and the fallen officers, except in some few highly specialized troops, were replaced by half-trained new-comers. But it was not only in the ranks that the antiquated body of the Tsarist Empire began to deteriorate.

The upper classes, weak and degenerate from a life of leisure, sent their best elements to the front, but these were soon killed or wounded and replaced by mobilized *déclassés* of every sort and kind. That stratum which took the place of the middle class and which has been described in the foregoing chapter as the Opposition to His Majesty, was not patriotic and lived up to its tradition of Fronde by secretly rejoicing at every defeat suffered by Absolutist Russia, blind to the fact that by this behaviour they were cutting the ground from under their own feet. They used the defeats as opportunities for making demands for reforms to the Government. As for the illiterate masses which were mobilized and forced into the army as

cannon fodder, they certainly lacked any sense of what is known as patriotism, even although there were cases of individual heroism ; but these were due to accidental circumstances unconnected with patriotism. These masses dreaded war and could most certainly not be raised to any degree of enthusiasm. Brute discipline and constraint was the only weapon they understood.

I can remember a typical example which opened my eyes to the true position when I visited the hospital on our estate. This had been opened by my mother for the wounded coming from the front, whose homes were on our estates or in the adjoining villages. Out of ten of these wounded soldiers hardly two could reasonably explain to me whom they had been fighting and at which front they had been. 'We didn't see the enemy,' was always their reply. 'Some told us that we're fighting the Germans, others said it was the Turks and Bulgarians, but we were not sure. Perhaps it was the French and English whom we were fighting.' They would also talk about having been 'driven to the front,' not of having gone to the war.

As the well-drilled and well-trained officers were killed, all discipline in the army gradually evaporated. The masses clothed in uniform may have looked right to the casual observer, but in fact they were nothing more than an armed and miscellaneous mob : a mob grumbling at hardships, a mob armed and drilled to kill without knowing why. They saw that those whom they were supposed to kill were adequately armed and equipped foreigners, so that when the Revolution came it seemed easier to their mind to kill their officers than to face these well-armed foreigners whom superiors called 'The Enemy.' The seeds of revolutionary propaganda fell on fertile soil among these men. The authorities, on realizing the lack of organization, made a supreme effort to produce the necessary ammunition ; but when this ammunition was available in sufficient quantities the army was already a demoralized mob.

There is a Russian proverb which says that 'a fish starts rotting at its head,' and the upper classes, illustrating the truth of this, were growing dissatisfied and were joining the ranks of the Fronde. The most poisonous rumours and calumnies began to spread concerning the Tsarina's evil influence over the weak-willed Tsar and tales of Rasputin lent colour to the picture. By the time such rumours had reached distant places they had grown into 'facts' while 'High Treason' was on everybody's lips. The halo of the Empire

was quickly becoming tarnished. The chief slogan for Revolution was 'Freedom,' for the peasants 'Land.' The enemy made the most of this state of affairs and by means of their well-trained propagandists and spies these various rumours were fostered and spread through all ranks at the front and at home.

The authority of the upper classes was daily growing weaker while century-old artificial barriers were being forced aside by the class hatred stirred up by revolutionary slogans. In the first place this class hatred was turned against the officers who were an obstacle to the complete disintegration of the army which was the aim of the Extremists. At the beginning of the Revolution, while I was on a short visit to our Ukrainian estate, I spoke to our under-gardener who had just returned from the front. He told me how, when Freedom—i.e. Revolution—came, his company had immediately gone and killed their officer. 'Why?' I asked, 'was he bad?' 'Oh, no,' came the reply; 'he looked after us well, he fed us well and dressed us well—but the brute made us take a bath every week! We, who don't believe in that silly performance! So we bayoneted him all right when Freedom came.'

The fact of the matter was that Imperial Russia lacked the backbone of stability given by a sound middle class, and was therefore unable to stand up against the crash when it came and to keep the Revolution within moderate bounds. The mob simply ran amok.

Another organic weakness, which became apparent in these times of strain and disintegration, was that the 'Policy of Unification,' started two hundred years earlier by Peter the Great, had weakened the non-Russian territories of this One and Indivisible Empire. The denationalization, or enforced Russification, of these nations naturally led to bitter Chauvinism and demands for autonomy, which again was followed by oppression from above and even stricter denationalization. If at the beginning of the reign of Alexander III (1881) a moderate policy of autonomy had been followed, together with the building and strengthening of a middle class the Empire would have been saved from downfall. But both Alexander III and Nicholas II opposed these two developments by means of forcing reaction on the country. Thus, when the army could no longer be counted upon to support the police régime, the antiquated and tottering administrative organization had no means of arresting developments which were heading towards political, social, and economic Extremism.

The case of the Ukraine was a typical example. The Treaty of Alliance between Northern Russia and the Independent Ukraine had been concluded in the form of a ' personal union ' in 1656 in order to counteract the aggressions of the common enemy, Poland. As the years passed and Great Russia grew stronger, this Treaty was violated by her and she carried out a policy of subjugation, infiltration, and finally annexation. The denationalization of the people was enforced by Draconian measures till, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ukraine disappeared off the map of a One and Indivisible Russia. Even the name was changed to Little Russia. The Ukrainian language was prohibited and the inhabitants were declared to be Russians.

As the Absolutist military power of the Empire developed, a like policy was applied to all the non-Russian areas that were annexed by it. ' Russification ' became the Imperial policy. At the partition of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century one-third of this country—' Congress Poland '—was annexed by Russia, who continued her ruthless Russification. Here again the name was changed and Poland became the Pre-Vistula Areas. Over and above this, derogatory nicknames were invented for all non-Russian subjects. So the Ukrainians were laughed at as ' Hohli ' (referring to the ' tufts of hair ' the people wore) the Poles were ' Liahi,' the Tartars and Moslems ' Halat ' because of their long robes. Everybody had to be Russian and Orthodox, everybody had to talk Russian, everybody had to wear the same clothes. Everything else was despised and regarded with suspicion. If at the outset these various nationalities had been granted the cultural and national autonomy they desired, then excessive Chauvinism leading to demands for complete independence would never have developed.

When the Tsarist centralized power began to totter on its legs, the centrifugal movements of the non-Russian nations acquired increasing impetus, whereby further opportunities were given to the subtle underground propaganda of the Socialist-cum-Communist faction. The closing of the Window to Europe on the outbreak of war was not sufficient to protect the principles of the centralized Absolutist police régime of Tsarist Russia against outside influences. Enemy propaganda coupled with that of the Extremists poured in over the frontiers of the tottering colossus, hastening on its deterioration. The remnants of the weak ruling classes lost their heads. The Opposition grew bolder and more extreme. Jacquerie flared up in the country-side. The agents of Lenin and Trotsky

were hard at work. Everything went astray and each dissatisfied group saw its opportunity dawning. The Separatist movements were fostered by the promises of self-determination and complete secession given them by the Extremists in the event of their coming to power.

However, as subsequent events proved, the tactics Lenin had outlined to me as long ago as 1908 were being applied: Separatism was being used to deal the last blow to Tsarist Russia, but directly the Bolsheviks felt themselves firmly established at the helm they initiated a strong policy of unification and centralization. This was met by blood-thirsty risings of the non-Russian nationalities which were ruthlessly suppressed by Red Moscow. Nevertheless Moscow was not strong enough to conquer and subdue all the various nationalities at the first attempt. Those who were situated on the outer periphery of the Russian continent were able to acquire their national independence, especially as they were supported in their feelings of nationality, religion, and private property by a strong middle class.

In this manner the so-called Border States came into being: Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland. The strength of this revival of nationalism may be judged from the fact that although these countries were weakened by the Great War, that although the battles of the Russian, German, and Austrian armies had been fought on their territories, causing ruin and destruction, yet when the War ended amidst social and political chaos they rallied round their middle classes and built up their national states. They were able to withstand the efforts of the Red Army to overrun them and enforce the Bolshevik régime upon them even although their total territory barely equalled one-tenth, and their population one-fourth, of the Russian continent which was already in the hands of the Red Dictators.

The following is a typical example, taken at random from many of the same sort: while Atheism and destruction of religion were rampant in Soviet Russia, the Socialistically inclined first Government of Independent Esthonia did not enforce religious instruction in the elementary schools. Hereupon a wave of revolt went through the country with the result that the Government was obliged to enforce religious teaching.

Even although some of these states—Esthonia and Latvia, for instance—were independent for the first time in their history, they yet succeeded in coping efficiently with the difficulties inseparable from the building up of a strong national

state. With regard to Poland, however, a short summary of the course of events in that country will be interesting in that it proves that history is for ever repeating itself. Here the Code Napoléon had been an historical institution throughout the preceding century, and this now provided a solid backbone round which the national constructive forces of the people could rally and unite. The middle classes were a more compact and homogeneous body than had ever been the case in Russia, while the Catholic religion, long persecuted by Russian domination, was a strong asset in the establishment of national independence.

The usual persecution and denationalization had been carried on in Poland by Russia with the inevitable result that when Poland obtained her independence her national feelings were particularly strong. She became the pet of post-War Europe as organized by Versailles, so no objections were made when she exercised a free hand and began to annex territories with non-Polish populations, so that of the thirty million inhabitants of present-day Poland close on one-third are non-Poles.

Having been the victim of the Russian policy of denationalization for one hundred and fifty years, Poland did not benefit from the lesson and began to apply the identical policy in the territories annexed by her. This was a serious matter, but the independent Poles saw fit to forget the disastrous results this policy had had for the unity of Imperial Russia and continued their measures for the denationalization of the Ukrainians and other non-Polish inhabitants. Thousands of Ukrainian farmers were imprisoned, schools were closed, property was destroyed or confiscated in these efforts at Polonization, with the same result that had been noticeable in Imperial Russia.

At first the non-Poles had been content with the promise of recognition of their local autonomy and cultural aspirations, but when Poland failed to redeem the solemn promises she had given to the Great Powers with regard to the nationalities, extreme Chauvinism developed on both sides. The Poles forgot that the Ukrainians, with their agricultural traditions, stand for Conservatism ; they also forgot that when Austrian regiments were recruited from the Ukraine in consequence of the Austrian Emperor's liberal policy towards that country, it was these very regiments which had assisted Austria in putting down the revolution that broke out in Hungary against the Habsburgs and therefore if properly treated the Ukrainians would be reliable allies against Left-Wing Extremism.

The position of Poland is a dangerous one with a thousand-kilometer frontier separating her from Red Russia, bearer of World Revolution, and her policy is bound to lead to splits within her state, splits which would be welcomed by the Soviets. It is short-sighted on her part to work in the Ukrainian matter hand in hand with the Soviets, who have thirty-three million Ukrainians under their domination and who back up Polish policy of suppressing the Ukrainians in Poland in return for Polish support of Russian attempts to do the same in Russia, for national revival within the borders of the Red Empire is growing in spite of all persecutions. Nor is the artificial Russo-Polish frontier an adequate safeguard against such revivals in the two countries. It is a dangerous policy to suppress the non-Polish nations on the one hand, and on the other to play lip-service to the paid agent of the National Ukrainian cause in Warsaw, for it can only evoke resentment and unrest in a country bordering on the territories of the world's chief mischief-maker, Red Russia.

Clashes of enormous magnitude are bound to come in a world that is feverishly arming and is full of militant creeds. These ought to be met by strong national unity within the states liable to be involved, even if only owing to their geographical positions. The heel of Achilles in Red Russia is the national revival of the non-Russians within its borders ; it is the same in Poland, and the Polish hopes that the common enemy of the two countries can be suppressed by tacit agreement have no strong foundation. The excellent manner in which the nationality problem has been solved by Great Britain and her Colonies and Dominions ought to be an example followed by all who wish to avoid future upheavals and cataclysms.

The process of national revival in various countries is proceeding apace. It takes different forms for the simple reason that, being national, it follows along the lines of the tradition and history of the peoples involved according to their various standards of culture. The first result of national revival will be to build up strong homogeneous states in Continental Europe with the help of a middle class strong in its sense of nationalism, of religion, and of private initiative as expressed by the instinct for private property. These will then ally themselves to other countries which have reached the same goal in their own particular manner. Super-national structures can only exist when they have developed from equal foundations and opportunities. If different nations carry out their national revivals in different ways, this is no reason for students of modern history, and especially for responsible politicians,



Photo by Hoffmann, Berlin

ADOLF HITLER

to ignore them as being different from their own particular revival.

It is quite probable that the future of Europe lies in the solution of this problem. It is quite possible that racial affinities will one day be acknowledged and we, or the next generation, will find the Latin races overcoming the plague of extremist international teaching and uniting in one group with the united aims based on their Latin blood and tradition. It is also most probable that the Germanic races of the Continent will form a similar group under the guidance of the Germanic races. And it is also quite probable that, after a process of self-determination, the Slavonic races will form their group—not under the guidance of Imperialist White Poland or Red Russia, but under a centre common to them all, a centre which has been the cradle of their national and cultural development throughout history—the Black Sea areas.

This, however, is the second step ; the first, which we shall soon be witnessing, is the national revival of the nations of Eastern Europe, independent in their traditions and characteristics. These will form a strong barrier against the expansionist and annexationist aims of people and races under the influence of Asiatic traditions. Supernational internationalism is the great disturbing element of these days and must always lead to war and chaos, which with modern scientific warfare can easily lead to the complete destruction of all that we venerate as European civilization.

But this is looking too far ahead. It will be better to return to the study of the various constructive and destructive policies and to the study of the main source of disturbance : the Russian Continent. For without studying the source it will be impossible to understand, still less to cope with, the disastrous consequences.

After the defeat in the Great War and the complete disappearance of the ruling classes, the Agrarian Revolution in Russia fell into the trap so cunningly set for it by the World Revolutionaries. Northern Russia, far from being able to oppose Socialism and Communism, presented all the necessary requisites for its development and gave Lenin and Stalin the possibility for turning it into a homogeneous Communist state. With regard to the aims and policy of these Red Dictators who turned Moscow into their capital, it will be necessary to recapitulate some of the remarks made in a previous chapter.

From the point of view of the Left-Wing Extremists, the

1905 Revolution in Russia was temporarily defeated. Tsarist reaction suppressed the efforts of the Revolutionaries, some of whom were imprisoned, some exiled, while the rest fled abroad and soon began to form new centres of activity in other countries. The militant creed of World Revolution always before their eyes, they took stock of the situation, studied the reasons for their first defeat and revised their tactics. These were: first to lay hands on Russia, then to proceed with the rest of the world. They wisely realized that if they began to stir up trouble in the countries where they were taking refuge, this would lead to unnecessary difficulties and hinder their work. As I have already explained, they took refuge in free and democratic Switzerland, or else in England, because this latter country saw in Imperial Russia a possible obstacle to her own peaceful development. The Russian Social Revolutionary and Social Democratic Parties formed committees in these countries in order to direct the work of undermining Russia. When the Great War broke out they were not slow in taking the opportunity it offered them. Lenin and his associates made use of conditions in Germany in order to force her to support them. This was done by putting at their disposal the 'sealed train' for conveying them to Russia when matters were deemed ripe for their appearance. Trotsky found his way to Russia from a British Dominion and joined hands with Lenin.

France had been left out of these schemes, because she had an alliance with Tsarist Russia who used her as a centre for the Okhrana in its work against the Revolutionaries. The leader of the Okhrana in France was General Rachkovsky, a genius of Secret Service work. This work, as I have already explained, was based on a thorough knowledge of Socialism and Communism and was carried out by the formation of the Bolshevik Party with the assistance of *agents provocateurs*. Once Russia was defeated and prostrate as the result of war, propaganda, and revolution, Lenin immediately began to organize his 'Nobility'—the Communist Party—and the leading centre of World Revolution, the Third International. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the Communist Party forms less than one per cent of the entire population.

The dragooning of the Russian Continent into the ways of Communism proceeded apace. As Lenin had prophesied in his talk to me in 1908, the masses were forced to accept its principles in serflike obedience, whether they understood them or not. This bloodthirsty régime surpassed everything that had been known under the Tsars, for Soviet statistics show that in the first three years of the régime the Cheka—weapon of

class warfare—shot and 'liquidated' more than two and a half million people as compared with the four thousand shot, hanged, or killed in riots during the thirty-five years' reign of Nicholas II. And yet there are people in this country who assert that the Bolsheviks have done away with the 'blood-thirsty' Tsarist régime! If to this figure of two and a half million one adds the number of those exiled, of the refugees, of those slowly done to death in Bolshevik concentration camps, deliberately starved and later shot, then the total is nearer to forty million. It must be remembered that Soviet theory and practice go hand in hand and are the outcome of Communism, a creed which, if it is to be successful, must according to its adherents be based on World Revolution. It is their religion, and neither logic nor natural developments can persuade them of its fallacy. One might as well try to persuade a good Christian that God does not exist.

The first step in Bolshevik tactics was to wipe out all present generations who are, according to them, poisoned and demoralized by *bourgeois* tradition, prejudice, and instincts. The very best these experimental generations can hope for is to be regarded by the Bolsheviks as tools in their hands till they disappear by natural death or otherwise and are replaced by a new generation 100 per cent Communist for whom Communism is not only a religion, but an actual programme to be carried out in their lifetime, throughout the world. They believe that Socialism is only a stage on the way to Communism: the formula for the one is 'Each according to his work,' and for the next, more perfected stage it is 'Each according to his need.' They believe that the present generation are conscious or subconscious saboteurs of the coming Utopia.

Hence evolution is impossible and a political, social, and economic *tabula rasa* is necessary before the final constructive programme can be carried out. For the same reason Socialism cannot be built up in one country while the others are governed by *bourgeois* and Capitalist principles. Everything that is not Communist must go—whoever and whatever it is. If under the Tsar the peasantry and the masses were looked upon as cannon fodder and were expected to develop into good and strong cannon fodder, under Lenin, Stalin and Co. they are regarded as obstacles who must be used as cannon fodder so that they can be wiped out in order to make room for new Communist generations.

It would be interesting to give some figures of the wages earned by proletarians in the Russia of to-day as compared with that of Tsarist days. I have taken them from the Soviet

statistics published last year in the official journals *Pravda* and *Socialist Agriculture*. We know that in the U.S.S.R. the majority of farming is collectivized, that means to say that the land belongs to the Soviet and is cultivated collectively, the peasant being merely a labourer in the Soviet Grain Factories, as the farms are called. The remuneration is worked out according to a scale based on a unit of pay in kind, according to the 'working-day' schedule. The 'working-day' is a piece of work.

According to official data, the average collective labourer can produce this 'working-day' in 1½ to 2 days' hard toil, so that at the end of a year he has to his credit some 210 to 250 'working-days,' a female worker an average of 170. Every year, before the grain is even sown, the Soviet Central Power decides how much produce each district has to deliver to the Government as tax. After the harvest is in, it is divided as follows: First the tax in kind is taken to the Government stores. Then, as the agricultural machinery is the property of the Government and is leased to the collective farms, they have to pay rent in kind for its use. This, according to Soviet statistics, absorbs 10 to 20 per cent of the harvest. Then comes the obligatory item of payment in kind to the numerous Soviet officials, supervisors, mechanics, etc., attached to the collective farms. Then comes the payment in kind to the Soviet Teachers' Fund of the local Communist school. Then an amount is put aside for next year's sowing. And only after all these deductions have been made is the remainder divided between the labourers according to the amount of 'working-days' to their credit in the preceding year. No allowance is made for families. If in consequence of a bad harvest or any other reason a farm cannot deliver the Government tax demanded from it, then a heavy tax in kind is demanded as a fine for inefficiency. These same statistics tell us that the average pay in kind per 'working-day' last year amounted to barely 200 grammes of bread!

Now for the figures of remuneration in the 'proletarian' section of Soviet economics. Here pay is according to piece-work, and if a given factory fails to turn out the amount demanded from it by the Government, heavy fines are imposed on the workers and personnel of this factory. In order to make the amounts of actual remuneration clearer, I am expressing them in terms of the quantity of bread (main product of Russia past and present) a worker can buy with his wages—e.g. in pre-War Russia a man working at home received sufficient to buy 240–300 kilogrammes of bread per month;

now he receives enough for 138–150 kilogrammes. The following figures are reckoned on the same basis :

	Pre-War		*Now*	
Domestic servants	120–400	kg.	75–125	kg.
Unskilled labourers	380–480	,,	112–138	,,
Building industries	500–800	,,	150–175	,,
Dye industry, men	800–1,200	,,	150–250	,,
,, ,, women	300–500	,,	87–150	,,
Mines	1,200	,,	225–375	,,
Retail trades	600–3,000	,,	100–375	,,
Engineers	4,400–8,000	,,	1,000–1,875	,,
Factory managers	16,000–60,000	,,	1,875–2,500	,,

These figures prove that the standard of living in the Soviet paradise is much lower than it was in Tsarist days, when the people by no means lived in luxury. Sir Walter Citrine, who is in sympathy with the Soviet State, spoke the truth when he confessed that a man living on the dole in this country is far better off than the average workman in the Soviet Union. And the Soviet leaders dare to call themselves Peasants' and Workmen's Government ! Unfortunately such blatant facts are overlooked or ignored in this country by people who, their wish being father to the thought, uphold Soviet Russia as the ideal land. Such people are subconsciously under the influence of propaganda and facts have no effect on them. They accept statements handed out to them, even if they contradict the facts published by Soviet official statistics, because they have been fed on formulas and are so imbued with them that they cannot be eradicated. They have standardized and stereotyped answers ready for all occasions. Thus, if one draws their attention to Walter Citrine's remarks, the answer is ' Oh, yes, he says that because he is Sir Walter.'

If one speaks of the workman who had his expenses for a trip to Russia paid by Lord Nuffield, they say he was paid by Lord Nuffield to say these things. When I was addressing a meeting in Folkestone and gave these details, a few young Communists interrupted me and pointed out that in the Ukraine the Soviets help the people by placing the most modern agricultural machinery at their disposal—including even aeroplanes for sowing the grain. When I asked them if they knew anything about agriculture to explain such wild statements, they had to confess that they did not. But nevertheless they stood by what they wished to believe. The usual arguments of the admirers of Soviet methods are always

standardized and prove that the continued application of propaganda is not without effect on the subconscious mind, making it accept statements which reason would refute. Thus, if advertisements on all sides are continually telling you to smoke a certain brand of cigarettes, you go into a shop and ask for them almost subconsciously. It is the Communist-cum-Socialist aim to produce one will, one endeavour, one belief, by means of united systematic action. But we will return to this matter later when discussing Soviet propaganda abroad.

Another argument that is always being spread is that the Soviets should not be blamed if things are not perfect, because so far they have only been experimenting; given time, they will prove their case successfully. This again is a lie that has come to stay, for what they have been doing for the past twenty years is no experiment, but the actual application of their principles. They had everything to help them in doing this, for when they took over the government of the vast Russian territories, they refused to recognize any debts and liabilities. This is like laying hands on a mortgaged property in this country, exploiting it for twenty years, then refusing to pay the mortgage because the whole thing was only an experiment.

Here I must refer to an interesting talk I had some years ago with the noted Russian biologist Pavlov. He had spent his whole life studying glands and their secretion in animal bodies and their reflexes. He was a man of the old régime and had his laboratories in Petrograd, where he carried out experiments in vivisection. These were a great asset to science, and his researches were supported by the Tsarist régime. When the Soviets came to power, he told me that he had been prepared for death or at least exile as a class enemy. But to his amazement he was summoned to the Kremlin by Lenin, who invited him to continue his researches and to spare no efforts and told him that the Government would place unlimited means at his disposal. He was also to give reports on his progress to Lenin direct. As for the problem he was expected to solve, it was this: To examine and classify all animal instincts and reflexes according to their importance, and the predominance of one over the others.

After many and long experiments Pavlov classified them as follows: (*a*) Fear, (*b*) Hunger, (*c*) Sex Instinct. Lenin and his associates rejoiced at the result. According to the theory of Materialism, which is the basis of Marxism, it is logical to regard the human body as an animal body directed by the reactions of purely materialist factors, and as a result of the scientific classification made by Pavlov it became possible to work out

a means whereby the programme of Communism could be enforced by appealing to those instincts. Thus Terror was the first weapon ; Famine the second, for it made the masses dependent on the hand giving them food and kept them in a continued feverish search for food ; the third weapon was Sex, which was used in order to control the individual and the masses according to the materialist teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. As only an infinitesimal minority of the people ruled by Lenin were 100 per cent Communists, it was absolutely necessary for him to discover a method for controlling the masses and directing their actions by means of scientifically exploited instincts. Hence the application of Mass Terror.

This weapon has been and still is being used wherever Marxists come into the open : in Russia, in Spain, in pre-Hitler Germany. In Spain, immediate object of the next stage of World Revolution, Terror is being applied systematically and scientifically both to individuals and masses. As soon as the Revolution flared up in Spain, the best trained experts in the application of Terror were sent by the Moscow leaders to assist their Spanish confederates. Among these was Bersin, the Bolshevik Terrorist who had directed the Cheka executions in Latvia in 1919. There is also Neumann, organizer of the Red Terror in pre-Hitler Germany ; there is Lazovsky, who organized the Cheka in the rear of the Red Armies that advanced into Poland in 1919–20 ; there is Primakoff, who was responsible for the hecatomb of men, women, and children in the Ukraine when it was conquered by the Soviets ; now he has been recalled and shot in the Tukhachevsky lot ; and finally there is Bela Kuhn, the memory of whose terror during the short-lived Red Dictatorship in Hungary in 1919 still makes the Hungarians shudder. All these men then went to Spain to carry out the scientifically planned system of subjugation—and to-morrow they may be sent to any other country which the Third International chooses as its next victim.

After Pavlov had given me this description of his work and the manner in which it was applied to the Soviet system, he concluded by a remark that made me shudder. He said he had had a hint from Lenin to the effect that, if he thought that human subjects were necessary for the progress of his work, these would most willingly be put at his disposal by the Kremlin !

The second instinct of importance is Hunger. The manner of applying this has been illustrated by the table of wages paid to workers, thus keeping the populations of town and country close to the starvation line. Over and above this, certain emergency measures may also be applied, as occurred

in the case of the wholesale famine in the Ukraine. For some time the foreign friends of the Soviets either tried to conceal the facts of this famine in the Granary of Europe, or they took pains to explain that it had been caused by sabotage on the part of the Kulaks as well as by the innate laziness of the population; but in the end they had to admit that in 1933 alone more than five million died of starvation in this, the richest agricultural part of Europe. Only when the people had been thoroughly weakened by starvation did the Soviets succeed in enforcing Collectivization upon their country.

Fear and Hunger are still used as a weapon all over the U.S.S.R., in spite of all the tales of peaceful evolution that the admirers of the Soviet spread in the world.

It is enlightening to study the Penal Code of the Soviets. Every conceivable crime is dealt with in that Code, but in such an elastic manner that almost any action can be proved to be a crime; this is extremely useful when an undesirable person is to be got rid of. The punishments, on the other hand, are by no means elastic and the death penalty, exile, long terms of imprisonment appear in almost every paragraph. Even children above the age of twelve may be condemned to death.

The Code has been deliberately formulated in such a manner that it would be quite impossible to live according to its laws, and in this way any citizen of the U.S.S.R.—be he Stalin himself—can at any moment be accused of crime. People would die of starvation if they tried to live according to the laws laid down, thus the Code depends on both fear and starvation. For instance: as salaries are quite inadequate, people occupy two or more positions and this, according to law, is a most serious offence. But everybody does it and everybody knows that all the others do it; but should the Soviets decide that for one reason or another they wish to get rid of Peter or Paul, he is charged with the criminal offence of occupying more than one position. The use of sabotage is another case in point. This word is much used by the Soviets in their attempts to undermine the Capitalist system abroad, but in the Penal Code its interpretation is so vast that anybody can be charged with having committed it. All the more so because, the present Russian generation not being ripe for Soviet ideals, it is full of conscious and subconscious saboteurs.

The third weapon, Sex, is used in Soviet Russia for eradicating all family tradition. Lenin once said to his disciples: 'Sexual intercourse must be made as easy as drinking a glass of water.' This is not an empty phrase, but a policy which is

being carried out in the education of the masses. 'It is the best way to destroy *bourgeois* tradition,' a prominent Bolshevik once told me. It is sufficient to look at the various left-wing publications appearing in this country, to study the 'strip-tease' performances and suggestive nudist exhibitions, to realize that the Soviets and their friends are working hard to achieve their ends by this means.

The Soviets make no secret of the efforts to destroy any religion which opposes their own religion of Atheism and Materialism. Their most energetic efforts are directed against the Christian religion and their aim is to uproot it with all its inward and outward forms. Atheism is the state religion of the Soviets and, as the State is the Alpha and Omega in a Communist régime, no other religion can be tolerated. As the human being at this stage is not yet willing to accept the creed of materialism in its entirety, the Soviet leaders regard him merely as a human unit which by means of pressure on his instincts is forced to work for the Benefit of Future Humanity, as Lenin used to express it, to regenerate the world and bring the World Soviet State into being. For this end the whole of Russia with its forty-eight different nationalities and languages is in the mind of her leaders the spear-head of World Revolution. The desire to make this spear-head strong is proved by the building up of a vast Soviet stronghold stretching from the Baltic and White Seas to the frontiers of India, from the Mongolian borders to the Polish frontier. Here an immense system of canals is being constructed and a self-supporting industry being developed to provide the weapons of modern warfare.

For five years work has been going on on these canals which are to connect the White Sea with the Baltic and thence by way of the rivers Onega, Suchona, Vychogda, Lake Kupinskoe, and again the Petchora and Kama rivers with the Volga. The Volga is the main artery of the system, Moscow its main port. The south-western sector of the canal system consists of the Dnieper, the main Ukrainian river, which is now connected with the Don and the Kuma-Manytch Canal. The construction of this canal system has, however, been extremely detrimental to the Ukraine, as it has drained off the water from the Ukrainian rivers.

The canal system is bordered by the Ural Mountains with their unlimited ores and other natural wealth, and eastwards is another canal system connecting the Aral, Caspian, and Kara plains. This eastern sector includes the West Siberian rivers, which are then being linked by means of the Angara and Yenisei with the Kolyma Steppes towards the east and with

the Aral and the Caspian in the south. While this canal work is being feverishly carried out, hundreds of miles of pipe-lines are being laid from Kusnetzk and Maguitogorsk.

Thus the water-ways of Russia provide what seem to be safe means of transport. In order to render their industrial areas independent of foreign imports, the Soviets have sought to provide these with liquid fuel from the Black Sea and Baku areas which, however, are not yet thoroughly broken to the Soviet régime. The Ukraine also, which ought to provide the majority of agricultural produce, is regarded as one of the least reliable states in the Union, and here the plans for industrialization on a large scale have gradually been abandoned and during the past few years less money has been spent on this than on the improvement of Moscow and its environs. But oil-fields are being developed everywhere : the Emba fields in the district between the Volga and the Urals, and east of the Urals in Central Asia. Rapid progress was possible owing to the slave labour supplied by political prisoners, whose lives were of no value.

The Turkmenneft oil-fields, to cite but one example, produced in 1910 125,100 tons of oil products, but in 1935 the output amounted to 335,700 tons, and the Embaneft produced 18,000 tons in 1911, 274,400 tons in 1935. The Gurieff-Orsk pipe-line of 725 kilometres carries 1½ million tons of crude oil from the Emba-Caspian districts to Orsk, centre of Kazakstan, Western Siberia, and Ural areas, where a refinery is being constructed. But this is only one of many refineries that are growing up all through Siberia and Central Asia.

Factories are also not lacking ; in Tashkent there are food depots, railway works, machinery, and aeroplane works, factories for the production of poison gas. Since 1933 it has also a colossal hydraulic pumping-station. In Askabad, centre of Turkistan, a canning industry is being started. Stalinabad, where the number of inhabitants has risen to 60,000 owing to immigration, has been turned into a centre for producing and storing foodstuffs, while a powerful hydraulic station is under construction. In the Fergana areas quicksilver, antimony, and radium laboratories are being built ; cotton mills in Chardjui ; coal mines and naphtha wells in Karakalpaks. Egyptian cotton seed has been imported and an attempt has been made to start rubber plantations.

To assist this development of Central Asia, new railways have been built and the old one enlarged and they are guarded by large colonies of Communists, including 300,000 of them in the Turkistan areas.

Increasing quantities of iron and steel are being produced in the Ural and Magnitogorsk mineral areas and all plant is so constructed that at short notice it can be used for the production of war material. The air force is already very strong and no efforts are being spared to prepare it for a future push south and south-eastwards.

This vast military camp, bounded by the Ukraine in the west, Mongolia, Russian and Chinese Turkistan in the east, forms a spear-head pointing towards Central Asia. The whole gigantic apparatus has been built up with the assistance of the OGPU and at the expense of millions of lives. Both highly trained experts and ordinary political prisoners have been used as tools. The left flank of this spear-head is Siberia and its outposts are Mongolia, Chinese Turkistan and fifteen Red provinces of China. The push that is being planned will be supported by the trans-Siberian railway and the industries of those areas. It appears that all but some 450 miles of this railway has been turned into a double track and the last section, from Khabarovsk to Mikolsk-Ussursk, is under construction and runs parallel to the eastern border of Manchukuo. In the process of doubling the track, 2500 miles of rails were laid in four years, over 65 million cubic metres of earth had to be excavated and several thousand bridges built. The second track of this railway will be out of reach of any power, including Japan.

According to the ideas of Lenin and Stalin in planning World Revolution, Europe can be brought to her knees by a double-edged operation : Europe must be undermined by a series of strikes and wars between her own nations while at the same time her trade and other activities in the Far East must be destroyed. In China alone more than £400,000,000 of British capital are already stagnant. India is the next vulnerable point ; after that Persia, the Near East, and the approaches to the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. As I will point out more fully in another place, Russia's ambitions here are more Imperialist than was ever the case under the Tsarist régime, and if Europe believes that the Soviet experiment is a stick which will beat the Russian Continent, a rude awakening is in store for her, for she will find to her cost that the other end of the stick, the one that is turned towards Europe, is far heavier and far more destructive.

In spite of all these activities, which are by no means being kept secret, the friends of the Soviet abroad still believe that Russia is turning more and more towards peaceful evolution. They point to the rigid divorce laws that are being enforced ;

they point to the decrees permitting the collective farmer to own a little live-stock and a few acres of land ; they point to the new Constitution and its general franchise. They repeat that Communism is good for Russia and are lulled into a sense of false security by the belief that it can never be introduced into Western Europe. But the efforts of the Soviets in France and Spain, in India and other places, will gradually make such admirers change their minds.

But let us analyse the above statements that are supposed to prove that Russia is now following the lines of evolution. Even the most unbiased student of present conditions in Russia will admit that, as far as Northern Russia is concerned, the destruction of family life has been complete under the Soviet régime. The hordes of waifs and strays—who, as I have explained elsewhere, could be made liable to the death penalty after the age of twelve—constituted a serious problem for the Government. As a result of amorality the majority of those millions of orphans were infected with venereal disease at a tender age. Diseased children of thirteen had already experience of sexual intercourse, and in orphanages girls of that age gave birth to the future generation of Communist Russia. The State had to provide homes for these children-citizens, so they were boarded out with families who had to feed them as well as their own children. And their own children were paid by the Cheka to spy on their parents, thus hastening yet more the break-up of family life. As sexual intercourse had become as easy as drinking a glass of water, the State had on its hands an increasing number of children who could not even trace their fathers. Thus families were expected to help to feed this mass that had been put into the world—but the scale of wages made no provision for the support of children.

With regard to the right to own land and live-stock, this decree sounded very well in theory. But it has already been shown elsewhere that in order to keep body and soul together a man had to work hard and slave continuously ; how then could he ever save enough money to run the permitted ' three acres and a cow,' let alone spare the time to look after them ? The only people who are privileged and can live in luxury are the Red Army, the Soviet officials, the members of the Communist Party and the OGPU, now called the Comvnudel. As these are immune from *bourgeois* prejudices, there is no need to worry them by restrictions ; besides, the State provides all they need. There is, however, one category of workman who can afford to buy all he wants, and those are the Stakanovzi, of whom the Soviet Press is always boasting. These Staka-

novzi are the collective labourers who manage to surpass the prescribed quota of work and on whom higher wages and privileges are literally showered. They are the former Shock-Brigade, whose duty it was to force other labourers to do more work. But this category is so small numerically, that it is hardly worth discussing, as the following figures will prove : in the sugar-beet industry last year, two million labourers were engaged in the whole of the U.S.S.R and of these only sixty-nine men were Stakanovs.

Finally the third point : the general franchise granted by the New Constitution. Any one who troubles to read the text of the Constitution will find out that there is only one legal party in Soviet Russia, and that is the Communist Party, and it would be unreasonable to expect that after twenty years of terror and suppression the people would dare to vote for whom they really want, any more than they did in 1917, when they elected the criminals in order to get rid of them. There would be no use in electing a non-Communist if his party was illegal. To describe this Constitution as democratic would be the same as if Mr. Harry Pollitt came to power in England and decreed that only the Communist and the Independent Labour Parties were legal ; in such a case, would any serious man regard it as the ideal of Democracy? People who spend a fortnight in Russia as guests of the Soviet, usually not knowing a word of the language, return and write two volumes on what Russia really is. This is as preposterous as if I, who know English, were to write a book explaining England to England and the world. Yes indeed, Russia is a Wonderland, tales about which are swallowed wholesale without doubt or criticism.

These same people, supported by some of the Left Wing clergy—who think that on the Left Wing they will soar to better positions—assert that religion is free in Russia and that the churches are always full. Some few churches certainly have been reopened, but the majority of priests are actually the agents and employees of the Comvnudel, placed there to spy out who comes to worship in them and who still believes in God. As the State religion is Atheism, the churches are nothing more nor less than traps subtly laid by the OGPU. If the Utopian state is to be attained, then Atheism must be universally adopted—except by those whom the State regards as of the previous generation. And these will sooner or later be ' liquidated ' by firing-squad, exile, or slow starvation. If a Government employee is suspected of belief in God he is dismissed—and dismissal means exclusion from any further employment. The children who are paid to spy on their

parents are told to report specially if they still worship God.

Yet in the non-Russian territories of the U.S.S.R. genuine religious feeling is growing, for it is the inherited tradition of these people. As the people know the churches are only OGPU traps, unofficial priests conduct services in secret, using caves, forests, or ruined buildings for the purpose. They are unofficial, because the ordination of new priests is impossible in Soviet Russia and the old ones were murdered or exiled by the hundred thousand. It was because genuine religion was a threat to State Atheism that Stalin decided to turn the churches into traps showing where his enemies were. But in spite of all such persecution, religion in the non-Russian territories is growing, bringing with it a strengthening of family life. Away from Moscow ! Back to our families ! Back to God ! are the mottoes engraved in the hearts of these people. But this religious tendency was not without danger to the Government, for nearly half of the Red Army is non-Russian.

Another danger to the Government was the automatic inclusion of the Komsomol, or League of Youth, in the Communist Party. They joined the Party because this brought them certain advantages, but in fact a strong nationalist and anti-Communist feeling among the non-Russian Komsomol, a belief in God and the family, is growing up, till the Communist Party is being threatened with an overload of non-Communist elements in its ranks. Stalin therefore passed a decree last year according to which members of the Komsomol should henceforth be elected to the Communist Party only on their personal merits. One drastic purge followed the other in order to keep the Party pure and free from *bourgeois* disintegration.

For the purposes of propaganda abroad, the opening of churches is a useful weapon.

There is yet another fallacy, perhaps a pardonable one owing to outside appearances : it is generally believed that the Russian Revolution is passing through the same stages as the French Revolution, and that Russia is now approaching the Thermidor period. This is misleading for the following reasons.

The development in the French Revolution, during which first its enemies, then its supporters were guillotined, is often compared to the ' liquidating ' of Trotsky and the Extremists by Stalin. But the comparison is misleading, for Trotsky is not more extreme than Stalin : prior to the autumn of 1917 he was a leader of the Menshevik Party, while Stalin has been a member of the Communist Party since its early youth. But

they are both convinced Marxists. If Trotsky were not a Marxist, he would hardly have chosen to go to Mexico now, where it would be easy for Stalin to engineer his 'liquidation.' It is therefore clear that the friction between the two men was due to minor personal differences only.

When considering the case of Trotsky, Zinovieff, Kameneff, and the others of the Old Guard Bolsheviks who were recently brought to trial and who confessed—all except Trotsky—that they had committed certain crimes, two logical alternatives present themselves : either these men were really guilty, or else they confessed for some reason unknown to us, but which is a direct result of Soviet Justice. They were the founders and leaders of the whole Soviet movement and if they were in fact such criminals, what can their movement be worth ? If they were not guilty, then one must also ask what can such a system be worth if it is based on such justice ? To say that the Soviet régime is going towards Democracy by way of peaceful evolution is either a monstrous lie, or fanatical blindness.

It is quite possible that the story of the enmity between Stalin and Trotsky is furthering Stalin's plans for World Revolution. Thus, when France, Russia's ally, complained to Stalin about his agents carrying on propaganda in France, he could blame Trotsky. It has even been suggested that the work of the Third International was inspired by Trotsky and that he was to blame for every defeat of the Reds in Spain. I have also heard from reliable sources that many of the Old Guard who were tried with Kameneff and Zinovieff, the notice of whose execution was published last August and September, have since been seen alive in Moscow. All this goes to prove that the various trials that caused so much interest and sensation abroad were only staged for propaganda purposes.

Some little time ago two letters were published in the *Daily Telegraph*, one of which asserted that religious freedom in Russia is a fact and that Europe ought to follow the example of the Soviets ; the other defied any one to quote a single case where Soviet Russia had violated her international agreements either in spirit or fact. I replied to these letters, pointing out that at the very time they were written an anti-God Congress was being held in Moscow under the chairmanship of Stalin and attended by sixteen hundred delegates of forty-nine different countries, also that blasphemous posters and pamphlets were published by the Congress and distributed all over Russia.

With regard to the second statement, I quoted one example : in 1924 the Sino-Russian Treaty declared Outer Mongolia to be an integral part of the Chinese Republic ; but in 1934,

when China and Russia were both members of the League of Nations, Stalin's Government signed a military treaty with Outer Mongolia, recognizing it as an independent People's Republic, which was a definite violation against a fellow-member of the League. Yet no protest from China ever appeared on the League's agenda. As my letters were never published, *Daily Telegraph* readers went away with the impression that the facts stated in both letters were correct.

Here are a few examples that show how respites form a part of Moscow tactics, whose leaders believe that it is necessary to *reculer pour mieux sauter*. In 1923 Lenin declared that Militant Communism was at an end ; he introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP), restoring limited private property, private commerce, etc. This was welcomed by the world as a new era, a return to sane evolution. But no sooner had the people opened shops, acquired and developed property, when Lenin ordered the respite to cease. The Cheka confiscated all property, the people were exiled or executed. Then later, Lenin desired a new respite and ordered Foreign Concessions. This was again welcomed abroad, investors rushed to the U.S.S.R. with huge sums of money, they sent costly machinery and experts to develop the concessions. But once more the respite was ended, confiscation and exile followed, the investors being thankful to return to capitalist old Europe with their lives.

The Lena Gold Field was a typical case, where the property confiscated had not been acquired under the hated Tsarist régime, but had been guaranteed by Lenin, Stalin, and Co. Then came the decree permitting local languages to be taught in schools, only to be followed by intensified denationalization. There was also the period of the League of Nations and of an understanding with European countries. The policy of supporting Germany against Versailles was only inaugurated in order to be able to carry on propaganda inside Germany. But this was stopped when Hitler came to power. Then the U.S.S.R. sided with France and upheld the application of the Versailles Treaty against Germany, but again only in order to be able to carry on her propaganda in the country of this new ally.

Here I must quote a talk my uncle Korostovetz, former Russian minister in Persia and China, had in 1919 with Chicherin and his assistant Karahan, soon after the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Chicherin's secretary had formerly been Korostovetz's secretary and it was he who arranged the interview. When he entered the ex-Imperial Foreign Office,

he found red banners draped everywhere. But when he came to Karahan's room, he was faced by his own portrait in the full-dress uniform of a minister. Across this a strip of paper had been gummed bearing the words 'Bloodsucking Imperialist.' 'Not a bad reception!' he thought as he smiled at it, but Chicherin looked rather perturbed. However, he took up a bold attitude. 'I hope you don't mind that!' 'Tempora mutantur!' my uncle remarked smiling, so the ice was broken. Chicherin then explained his ideas to my uncle.

'Yes indeed, times have changed. The Tsarist policy of oppression in Persia, carried out by you, has been ended. We have cancelled all Tsarist agreements with Persia; Russian concessions are no longer subsidized, for they were detrimental to the Persians; there are no more English and Russian spheres of interest. From now on we look on the Persians as our equals. What have you to say to that?' he asked with satisfaction.

'I can only bow to your boldness. No other Government would do such a thing. But may I ask if you are certain that by clearing out of Persia you gave the rights back to the people? Or have you only given a free hand to other, what you call Imperialist nations, to go in and replace the Russians? But have you ever read the Chariat?'

'No. Why?' asked Chicherin.

'The Chariat is the Bible of the Persians and had you read it you would know that every Orthodox Persian looks on every white man as a despicable dog. Therefore, if you granted them equality, are you sure that they will accept it?'

Chicherin, puzzled, looked first at my uncle, then at Karahan, whom he asked: 'Did you know that?'

Karahan did not, although he was the head of the Eastern Department. But he remarked: 'That is only a minor detail. I will raise the matter at the next meeting of the Executive and then it will be settled.'

Returning to the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, my uncle repeated his opening remarks and said that no other Government would have dared to sign it, as it would have been overthrown by the people. Chicherin remarked that the Treaty was only a scrap of paper which will never be carried out as Central Europe is on the verge of collapse. But it will give Soviet Russia an opportunity for introducing her plans into Central Europe. He went on to say that the Versailles Treaty was their most trustworthy ally, for it has caused Europe to be split into two opposing camps. 'We can strike a blow at capitalist Europe without any fear of intervention and that will help us with World Revolution,' Chicherin concluded.

I have already touched on the question of foreigners travelling to Russia as guests of the Soviets and on their ability to express an authoritative opinion on affairs there even if they are ignorant of the language. Here I would like to cite a few examples connected with the clients of Intourist, the main Soviet propaganda bureau. The first one takes us back to the unfortunate and tragi-comic period of Kerensky's Provisional Government, which by its weakness prepared the ground for the coming of Lenin.

In the autumn of 1917, when I was still private secretary to the Foreign Minister, Russia was invaded by masses of foreign journalists, mainly Americans, on the search for red-hot news. Among these was Isaac Margesson, highly paid correspondent of the *Saturday Evening Post*. It was part of my duties to receive him and I did my best not to let him see the chaos that was reigning and so discredit the Government, of which I was a servant. I had to show him that all was going well—not an easy task, for Petrograd was overflowing with Soviet bureaux and public meetings. The result was that Isaac Margesson wrote a book on the Russian Revolution, its democratic freedom and its bloodless character, obviously inspired by Kerensky's watchword : 'The great Russian bloodless Revolution.' He wrote about everything but the Soviets and yet he was a trained journalist with experience of many countries, which proves that even such people can be hoodwinked.

The next example, which occurred much later, deals with Shulgin, a Ukrainian landowner who had large properties in Kiev and elsewhere. Under the Tsar he had been an extreme Right Wing Municipal leader and member of the Duma. During the Revolution he had to flee from Russia, and after taking part in various White Russian anti-Communist organizations in Czechoslovakia, he suddenly settled down in a remote place and declared to his friends that he had retired from politics. He only confided to two reliable friends that he intended to cross Russia unobserved, dressed as a peasant, and see things for himself.

After six months of complete retirement, which gave him time to grow a beard and practise peasant work, he succeeded in getting into the Ukraine. Partly by rail and partly on foot he went from town to town, village to village. He visited the three capitals : Kiev, Moscow, and Leningrad. In Kiev he avoided old friends who might have recognized him, only mixing with the common people. His description of how he saw his former house in Kiev, with his son peeping from the window—a son whom he had thought of as killed during the

Revolution—and of how he did not dare to approach him can rank among the most tragic and vivid human stories.

Finally he succeeded in crossing the frontier into Finland. Then he wrote a thrilling account of his visit to Russia, which included the smallest details and all conversations with Red Army soldiers, officials, peasants, orphans, and others of all nationalities. The book, which seemed to be an impartial and rather critical survey of true Russia, was published by the Russian Emigration in Paris and was regarded as an important book of reference. But three months after it appeared, the Moscow OGPU published a detailed report on Shulgin's visit to Russia. It gave the same details that he had given, as well as others which he had omitted and pointed out some small inaccuracies with regard to the streets he had passed on his way from Kiev railway station. It was told how and where he had bought stamps and tobacco, quoted minor talks with people. The point is that it has been stated and proved that the OGPU organized Shulgin's entire trip unknown to him and prepared all the 'casual' talks. Shulgin, being an honest man, was entirely flabbergasted and had to admit that he, a Russian born and bred, had yet been hoodwinked by the OGPU.

The famous Opperput case is another example. In the early days of the Bolsheviks, many people managed to escape from Russia by being ordered to go abroad on behalf of some Government organization, preferably the Co-operatives, which were at that time not yet under complete control of the Soviets. In this way non-Bolsheviks were able to send their friends out of the country. The Bolsheviks also used them to send their agents abroad, but these often declared themselves anti-Bolshevik and refused to return. The most fortunate 'Non-Returners' were those who left no relatives behind to be treated as hostages by the Government. A Finnish frontier guard discovered this Opperput trying to hide in the woods with a number of bags, saying he was a refugee. He explained to the authorities that he had escaped from the Soviets, whose enemy he was, after for purposes of policy having been in charge of the foreign section of the Leningrad Cheka. As proof he showed his bags, which were full of official documents which he had smuggled out with him.

The Secret Services of the world were immediately interested and they sent their representatives to Helsingfors, where they saw the list of agencies in Europe, codes, accounts in European banks, addresses and aliases of Third International agents. Investigations were made and the documents were found to be

correct—so Opperput became the centre of interest. The agents mentioned in his lists were shadowed, banks stopped payment, funds were confiscated. After six months, Opperput disappeared and later the Moscow OGPU published a report, showing how he had been sent abroad by the Cheka disguised as a refugee. The point here is that periodically the Third International instigates a system of spying among its agents, so that unwanted ones can be 'liquidated.'

Another case is that of a young chemist from Russia whom I met in Berlin and who, I was convinced, was an anti-Soviet. While in Russia he had done most valuable work connected with the photography of invisible rays, articles on which appeared in scientific journals of Europe and the United States. With great difficulty he succeeded in obtaining permission to travel abroad. His old professor had guaranteed his return, but he told him: 'Go, and never come back. They will never shoot me, because they need me. If they do, it does not matter, for I am old and of no use to anybody. But Science needs you.'

He told me his *visa* was expiring, but that he did not wish to return, as he knew too much of the real facts. On my remark that I thought scientists were privileged in Russia he explained that they are at the mercy of illiterate commissars who do not hesitate to destroy the result of years of research. He had been offered permanent positions with firms in America and England—but he was forced to return to Russia.

Some days later I read in the German papers that as he had disappeared his rooms had been searched and a letter found explaining that he had decided to drown himself in one of the lakes outside Berlin. I was very upset at this sad news of yet another victim of the Soviet régime, but a few days later I met him outside a suburban theatre! I was amazed, but he whispered to me that he was officially dead, but in fact was free because some European friends had provided him with new identity papers and he was leaving that night for the United States. This was apparently the only way to save his own life and that of the professor who had guaranteed his return. He also confessed that every scientist or specialist leaving Russia by permission of the Soviet Government signs a paper agreeing to be a spy in his special domain. If he refuses to return or to carry out that spying work he is disclosed to the authorities of the country where he is working as a Soviet agent and is therefore deported to Soviet Russia.

Now, in order of chronology, comes the famous trip of Herriot, at the time when Russo-French friendship was

taking root. His passage through the Ukraine and Russia was magnificently staged. At every station the buffets were overloaded with marvellous food at prices far below those in Europe. Peasants paraded at every station dressed in gorgeous national costume and joyfully greeted him. Herriot wrote enthusiastic accounts of the prosperity and happiness prevailing in the newly allied country. A foreign friend of mine, who had lived in Russia for seven years and spoke the language like a native, was present at the time and told me that this comedy had been performed in order to hide that the population was starving. Well-fed OGPU agents had been dressed up as peasants, the buffets packed with food marked at fictitious prices ; but as soon as Herriot left, everything was dismantled and the food sent on to the next station where he was to stop for inspection.

Last, and by no means least among these prominent visitors, is the Duchess of Atholl. For many years the Duchess had been known as the most inveterate enemy of the Soviets and the Third International, the friend of White Russian *émigrés*. This White Russian emigration, however, is made up of so many groups and degrees with aims and programmes of such varying origins that it is hard for a foreigner to grasp their full significance. Formerly they belonged either to the aristocracy or to the 'Opposition to His Majesty,' both of which classes had long since ceased to have any contact with the people and now their aim is to Save Russia, an aim shared by the Non-Returners already mentioned.

In Conservative countries such as England, these people were accepted without question as being the enemies of Bolshevism, with the unforeseen result that Moscow began to fill the ranks of the White Emigration with Soviet propaganda agents, thus turning it into a useful tool. This propaganda was adapted to every type of mind among the White Russians : believers in the old Absolutism were convinced that the Soviet system was exactly what was good for the Russian masses and dreamed of replacing Stalin by the Grand Duke Cyril ; believers in Democracy sided with the Soviets in their fight against Separatism, but all of them helped to spread the belief that Russia had reached a state of peaceful evolution.

The White Russians and their European friends alike overlook the fact that Russia lacks the great middle class which checked the Extremism of the French Revolution and that Red Moscow is naturally not interested in the formation of such a class ; they only dream of the day when the White Russians will be invited to return to Russia and share the power of the

Soviet leaders, not realizing that they are more useful to these leaders while they are abroad, where they can influence such people as Professor Bernard Pares, friend of the *émigrés* and guest of Red Moscow ; and as the Duchess of Atholl who, as a guest of Red Moscow, delivers speeches at the Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union, praising the happiness of the masses under the Soviet régime.

Another result of the subtle propaganda described is that the Duchess recently went to Spain with Ellen Wilkinson and appealed for help for Red Spain, calling down the scorn of God on the heads of the Spanish patriots. It also results in Winston Churchill, Diehard of Diehards, praising Stalin's fight against Extremism and foreseeing a possibility of Great Britain allying herself with Russia and France against the aggressor, Germany. He thunders at German rearmament, but does not mention Russian armaments, on which over 800 million pounds have been spent this year.

It is interesting to compare the methods dictated by the Tsarist code of government with that of the Soviets in the policy of expansion. Under the Tsars the slogans used were : Duty to uphold Hereditary Monarchy ; Duty to Unite all Slavs and Expel the Infidel ; Duty of the White Man against barbarous Asiatic Nations. Under the Soviets these have been replaced by : Proletarians of the World, Unite ! Freeing Coloured Races from Imperialist Domination ; and Self-Determination of Nations—which latter, however, was cancelled with regard to the nations within the Soviet Union directly the Soviets were firmly established.

We can see this policy being carried out in Spain, where Basques and Catalonians have been promised independence, while in India Pandit Nehru is preaching the same slogans. Here typical approaches to propaganda are used in order to bring in the thin end of the wedge : Do not attack religion, caste, family, but concentrate on State form, propagate the Soviet State forms most suitable for India, are the instructions of the Third International. In England, make use of the opposite approaches : 'Attack family, religion, class, but abstain from attacking Monarchy as a form of Government, which the people venerate.' In Europe propaganda is used to make people believe that Russia is growing democratic at the same time as Left Wing groups, such as the Popular Fronts, are being formed. It must not be forgotten that the Soviet Government is no more than the Executive of the Third International and that Stalin, its head, has never occupied any position in the Soviet Government.

In 1918 we saw the Ukraine being recognized as an independent Conservative State, but the Soviet Ambassador to Kiev, Rakowsky, was used to ferment revolts with the help of the Socialists and other Left Wing organizations in that State. This was revealed in his own Memoirs. At the same time the Soviet concentrated armies on the Ukrainian frontier, ready to invade and annex it. These activities find their parallel in India, where for many years past Soviet agents have carried on subversive propaganda. Very wisely they refrained from attacking religion, caste, or family life, and have concentrated on suggesting that, once the English Raj is expelled, the Soviet State would be the most suitable form of government. Propaganda is carried on quite openly all through India and on the North-West Frontier fakirs are preparing the ground for an invasion. Whether these plans will succeed or not is another question, but the fact remains that here the same methods have been applied as in the non-Russian territories of the Soviet Union before they were annexed.

The story that while Bolshevism is good for Russia, it will never be accepted in any other country has come to be so firmly believed by credulous foreigners that even the Popular Fronts in France and Spain with the accompanying attempts at Revolution have failed to open their eyes. The Socialists who continue to insist that Socialism is not Communism also continue to support the Spanish Democratic Government elected by general vote, although it is neither democratic nor generally elected. The fact is rather that of the dozen ministers of the Valencia Government the majority were appointed by Red Syndicates who admit that they are a branch of the Third International. The same is true of the Catalonian Government. But it is not only the Socialists and Liberals of every régime who are being hoodwinked, but leaders of other parties as well.

IV EUROPE AND WORLD REVOLUTION

IF, IN PRE-WAR DAYS, a gang of crooks succeeded in robbing a bank or large jeweller's, the entire police force of various countries would be alarmed. They would meet and discuss measures for catching the gang. It might also happen that those responsible for the safety of the citizen would be summoned before their superiors and blamed for their carelessness.

In the present history of Europe—and, in fact, of the entire world—we are now witnessing a similar case, where an international gang with wide-spread ramifications called the Third International is openly carrying on its work of destruction. They declare that they wish to rid the world of all accepted standards of European civilization including religion, family, property, and peace. Would it not therefore be logical for civilized countries, in a desire for self-preservation, to exchange their information and experiences with the aim of arresting the onslaught of a force that has already laid hands on the riches and population of one-sixth of the globe? But the non-Bolshevik world can only be compared to the bank-clerk who is forced to give up his keys at the point of revolver; or even to the man who is asked for five pounds by a persuasive crook who tells him he wants to buy a gun with which to shoot him, after which he will rape his daughters and dispose of his property. His victim then hands over—not only the five pounds, but continually increasing sums.

The international gang is, however, acting in a precisely similar manner and we are surely entitled to some explanation of the victims' behaviour. In some cases it is due to ignorance, in others to the egotism of individuals or States who believe that if the gang is helped they will be kept out of the remaining five-sixths of the world; or even that if they are accepted, they will in time become decent citizens of the comity of nations. Or they may even think—and perhaps this explanation ought to be put in the first place—that by allying themselves with the gang they may outdo them and gain huge profits quite irrespective of any code of honesty or morality. The history

of Europe during the past twenty years has been most enlightening in this respect, for, speaking on broad lines, every civilized country has passed through the same consecutive stages in its handling of Bolshevism and all that pertains to it.

The first stage is the acceptance of the fact that wars and revolutions bring Extremism in their train. In order to stop the spread of the latter, help is given to its opponents in the hope that when they are victorious they will prove their gratitude in a practical manner. This explains the assistance given to the 'White' generals in their attempts to restore order and suppress the mob by military measures—attempts which ignored the progress of time and the necessity for evolution, most effective weapon against revolution. Examples in point are the movements initiated by Kolchak, Yudenitch, Denikin, Wrangel, and others.

This first stage having ended in failure, the second is not long in coming. It is based on the supposition that the gang of International Revolutionaries have come to stay in power, at any rate for a considerable period. Therefore the gang is used as a weapon for combating the dangerous expansionist policy of the Russian colossus. Co-operation with the gang is possible because, as it is still weak, it can be forced to grant privileges and concessions in exchange for recognition and opportunities for acquiring at a low price all that they previously robbed from others in their country. This second stage is illustrated by the recognition by foreign powers of the Executive of the Third International—the Soviet Government.

Concessions and commercial treaties followed this recognition in due course, while the countries recognizing the Soviets carried on their fight against the disruptive work of the Third International in a purely half-hearted manner. Such countries also looked to the Soviets to transfer their disruptive activities to others, with commercial profit to themselves. This attitude led to abnormalities like the Rapallo Treaty, the Berlin Treaty, and the recent Franco-Soviet Treaty. But here again it happened that a treaty concluded with Russia against an enemy or a trade competitor returns like a boomerang against those who hoped to benefit from it. The Rapallo Treaty, which was aimed against the Versailles Treaty, was a case in point.

Then came the third stage, that of recognizing the danger of Soviet Russia even in the guise of an ally and of realizing the threat to the peace and prosperity of those who in the second stage had sought Soviet friendship. This resulted in a more rigid control of Russia's activities—whether she was an ally

or not—and in a system of barter, whereby a pound's worth of Soviet goods was exchanged for a pound's worth of machinery from the non-Communist country. Even this return to common sense did not have the desired results, for it was based on an artificial system, in that it expected the Revolutionary maniacs to recognize all—family, property, national interests—that they had repudiated. Therefore when the Revolutionaries refused to recognize civilized rights and duties and continued to work for World Revolution, it was a dangerous matter to try and come to an agreement with them, more especially as the European countries were all at cross purposes with each other. Europe had been shaken to its foundations by the War, the results of which were being felt by victors and vanquished alike. It was easy to persuade the vanquished, whom distress had blinded, to make alliances with the Soviets at any price in order to put a spoke in the wheel of the victors.

This third stage is gradually approaching its close. In order to illustrate my meaning by a parallel, I would point out the danger of making experiments with germs of a disease and importing these in large quantities, for they may end by infecting the weaker among the importers then, growing more virulent, they will also attack the strong. In the same way the promoters of the disease of World Revolution first attack the weak who, in a desperate effort to save themselves, carry out a counter-revolution against the germ. By this time the germ has increased its virility and begins to spread among the strong, who had considered themselves immune against infection as a result of having been vaccinated by self-confidence. Peoples and nations gradually realize the common danger and take action against it, each in the manner best adapted to particular circumstances and environments. Some countries react more slowly, others more quickly, but, curiously enough, it is the countries who were slow to take any initiative who eventually passed through the third stage quickest.

In the meantime the centre of World Revolution continues its work, systematically planning each successive step on the way to its ultimate aim.

The countries that have almost come to the end of the third stage in their relations with Bolshevism are Germany, Italy, and Japan, while England and France, each in her own way, are starting on it. The United States are an example of the slow reaction referred to and they will probably soon finish the third stage and make up for the time lost while hesitating between the first and second with respect to recognition.

The dam dividing these two stages then suddenly burst and America rushed headlong into the second stage.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Bullitt, protector and promoter of Soviet Russia, rushed off to Moscow with a whole train of consuls to inaugurate political and commercial relations—but three months later came the awakening. The consuls were recalled and the trade balance, which prior to recognition had been 5 to 1 to the benefit of the U.S.A., was reversed and very little further business was done. A sore point, which had held up recognition, was Russia's refusal to recognize pre-War debts, especially those to Europe's creditor, the United States. America having yielded in the matter of debts, her other European debtors considered that they also had the moral right to cancel their debts to her, more especially as they had been incurred for the same reason as those incurred by Russia. But according to the supporters of recognition, America would be amply compensated for this by the immense profits that would follow recognition of the Soviets.

Here it would be as well to turn to the Moscow centre of World Revolution, its method of preparing the ground and the way in which the goal is reached. First we will discuss Soviet foreign policy, what it has achieved and the methods applied to individuals and countries, parties, and groups, and to various classes. These are based on the theories of Trotsky and Stalin on World Revolution.

Trotsky said that if he had a thousand people in any country who were prepared to risk their lives for the Cause, they could under his guidance bring off a social revolution, get command of the country and occupy its key positions by force, supported by well-trained masses. He regarded the middle class as an amorphous mass with but little initiative which can be cowed into subjection either by Terror or by bribes promising better wages. He considered the material approach to be the most important: first he must get into power, then the rest will follow. A war, to his mind, provides favourable conditions, for when one *bourgeois* country fights the other, destruction and depression are the result. He considered Europe the main evil, for it is the directing centre of the world and he therefore prepared to attack it. It was on his initiative that the war against Poland was started in 1920, and when this led to defeat he explained that this was due to lack of organization.

Here I must quote a typical example of Trotsky's policy of which I was a witness. It was in the autumn of 1917, after the various events leading up to the dissolution of the Provisional Government and Kerensky's flight already described else-

where. At that time the one reliable body was the Civil Service Corps which had already proved its loyalty by opposing and putting down the rising organized by Lenin and Trotsky in the June of that year. The Civil Servants organized themselves in a professional union and declared that if any party seized power and used it for egotistic party aims, they would oppose this attempt and if necessary go on strike.

In this autumn of 1917 the Bolsheviks leading the rabble were too much occupied in taking possession of palaces, cars, railway centres and banks to give much thought to the Civil Servants. Trotsky, who had been appointed Foreign Commissar, believed that he could easily persuade them to continue to work for the Soviets, and that therefore it would be unnecessary to order their execution or to try to intimidate them in any way. The Civil Servants continued their clerical work, but with the reservation that as soon as the Soviet Government tried to interfere they would organize a strike and prove to the people how intolerable such a Government would be.

At this time I and a friend attended a monster Bolshevik meeting disguised as workmen. It was held in the barracks of the former detachment of Guards of the Pavlovsky Regiment, and as we entered the air was so dense that one could almost have cut it with a knife. Banners with revolutionary inscriptions hung everywhere. The crowd was dressed in torn and dirty old uniforms. Bolshevik stewards—many of them with pronounced Jewish features—hurried about among the sleepy, contented mob who were smoking cigarettes and chewing sunflower seeds, spitting the husks into their neighbours' faces. Women with long dishevelled hair, dressed in student uniforms, followed the proceedings with glittering eyes.

My friend and I mixed with the crowd and pushed our way to the front. The Revolutionaries on the platform were typical of their kind, shouting, gesticulating, giving orders to a drowsy mob that by no means looked as though it were tuned to revolutionary pitch. At last the Chairman announced: "The Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government, Comrade Trotsky."

Trotsky was a typical Oriental Jew with his quick, restless movements. The crowd appeared to be more amused at him than interested and prepared to listen with a condescending air. But his brilliant speech moved them to enthusiasm, and every time he paused there were loud cheers and applause. This pleased him and he touched on every theme which he thought would excite them. Passing to the subject of foreign

policy, he said: "New Soviet Russia, bearer of World Revolution, will now point the way for the rest of the world to follow."

My friend shouted a question: "And what about war?"

He replied that war was finished and *pourparlers* going on.

"Are you surrendering to the Kaiser?" I asked.

Here the crowd began to pay attention, shooting questions at him. "Is he going to continue the war, which nobody wants, or surrender to the Kaiser?"

In order to evade the issue Trotsky turned the argument and tried to prove that such interruptions were the work of counter-revolutionaries. He pointed to me and asked: "Don't you see he is a *bourgeois* in disguise?"

The crowd was evidently growing suspicious, so my friend pulled me down to my seat and got up himself. He certainly looked the part of a workman and began asking questions about the land.

I again got up and, pointing to my limp, dirty collar, cried: "Look at my collar, Comrades, and look at Comrade Trotsky's clean stiff one! Can any of you afford such a collar?"

Then the crowd turned on Trotsky and booed him, while my friend cried: "If you talk of a disguised *bourgeois*, look at my hands, hard and dirty from tilling the soil which belongs to the nation—and look at Trotsky's, they're clean and well manicured!"

The Chairman, an untidy Jewess, tried to restore order, while my friend whispered that it would be better to go before we 'got it in the neck.' So we slipped to the back rows, left the hall and hurried off to the first meeting of the Civil Servant Strike Committee, of which we were members.

With difficulty we found an Isvostchik to drive us to the meeting, which was being held in a conspirator's flat in a suburb. How times had changed! Formerly we met in palaces, but now the Bolsheviks were there and we had to go to the back streets. Our Isvostchik was an old man and ready to talk to us, as he quickly saw through our disguise. After grumbling at the bad times, he went on:

"You see, *barin*, the more we simple folk hear of the plans to put us in palaces, the worse things seem to go. The lot of us Isvostchiks will always be bad, because nobody cares about us. In the old days, when you drove a *barin*, you got a good tip. But now these Proletarians make you drive them for miles and at the end just say 'Thank you, Comrade,' without even paying the fare. A cad can never be a *barin*," he finished philosophically.

Next day an important meeting of the Civil Servants was being held at the Foreign Office. It was one of the sunny days so rare in the northern capital, and the bright light enhanced the beauty of the famous old building of the Ministry, which on one side overlooked the Winter Palace, on the other the noted Pont des Cantres. A hum of voices filled the huge reception room with its pictures from the Hermitage, its walls covered with brocade in a design of Fleur de Lys and scarabs. This meeting, under the chairmanship of our president, Prince Urussow, was going to decide whether the time had come for a general strike of the Civil Servants, or whether other measures were to be adopted towards the Soviets. After many patriotic speeches had been made, the bemedalled old doorkeeper entered and, bowing deeply, handed a slip of paper to Prince Urussow who, after reading the message, held up his hand to ask for silence.

"Vassili Fedorow (the doorkeeper) tells me that someone is outside in the anteroom, a man calling himself the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Trotsky. He heard that we are holding a meeting and would like to address it."

Cries of 'Down with the intruder!'—'Out with him!' came from all sides.

"No," interrupted Urussow, "we are not afraid of THEM. Show him in, Vassili Fedorow."

A hush fell over the assembly as Vassili Fedorow threw open the great doors inlaid with coats-of-arms and a dishevelled figure entered: Trotsky, the fiery demagogue of yesterday's meeting. The sight of the magnificent hall and well-behaved audience apparently made him feel like a fish out of water as, in his shabby clothes and dirty shoes, he gingerly crossed the slippery parquet floor. But his discomfort only lasted a few moments. Realising that hundreds of hostile eyes were watching him he made an effort and quickly regained his usual arrogant pose. Going straight up to Urussow he announced:

"My name is Trotsky, and I have been appointed by the will of the people to be your Foreign Commissar. I will now address this meeting," he added quickly, as though not quite certain whether he would be allowed to do so. He then held out his hand to Urussow, but he, after scrutinizing him from head to foot, put his hands behind his back and replied curtly:

"You may speak," and pointed to a place on the platform.

Ignoring the affront, Trotsky began to speak. In his pronounced Jewish accent he gave a detailed account of the achievements of the Revolution and of how it had been

victorious on all fronts. As the will of the nation had been expressed by putting the Soviets into power, he took it for granted that all those present would henceforth agree to serve the Soviet Government.

These remarks were interrupted by an outburst of disapproval, but Urussow appealed for silence and Trotsky continued, pointing out with obvious satisfaction that all who accepted this service would be well paid. In playing this, his trump card, he quite ignored the fact that Foreign Office salaries had not been revised since 1826 and were so small that the higher officials never even troubled to receive them, passing them on to a charity for the lower officials. The Foreign Office, as a matter of fact, was the exclusive preserve of the well-to-do nobility who joined the diplomatic service for purely patriotic reasons ; in view of their immense wealth the matter of salaries therefore never entered their minds. Therefore Trotsky's munificient offer not only missed fire, but evoked an indignant uproar. This caused him completely to lose his bearings, for his Jewish mentality could not grasp the fact that a *bourgeois* assembly would refuse a good offer. All he could do was to profess himself ready to answer questions, as apparently he had been misunderstood.

The first question came from a typist. It must be explained that in the ensuing struggle and bloodshed it was these lower members of the staff who showed the greatest heroism in refusing to yield to the usurpers ; they preferred to face exile, persecution, or even a firing squad rather than bow their heads to what they considered wrong. Even the Bolshevist offers of high salaries and ambassadorial posts—impossible under the Tsarist régime—were indignantly ignored by typists such as the one who rose to ask a question.

" Do you mean to say," she asked, " that your chief motive in serving a cause is money ? If that is so, you must be a Jew—but aren't you one ? "

" Yes, I am a Jew," Trotsky flared up, " and proud of it. I work for the Revolution, not for money. But as you are *bourgeois*, I believe that your chief interest is material—for materialism is the mainspring of the *bourgeoisie* all the world over." This reply did not improve matters as far as Trotsky was concerned, for it wounded the patriotic susceptibilities of people who were prepared to give everything, including their lives, for their fatherland and all that it stood for—a point of view that meant nothing to the international Revolutionary.

Then Chemersin, an ex-officer who was at that time Consul General in China, rose and asked :

"Why have you changed your Jewish name Bronstein for Trotsky? If you are so proud of being a Jew, why hide yourself under the name of a noble and respectable Russian family, and thus disgracing it?"

Trotsky explained that his name was actually Bronstein, but during long years of revolutionary work he had been obliged to adopt aliases and now he continued to bear the name under which he had achieved success. "And what is your name?" he concluded by asking, probably to end the painful discussion about Jews adopting Christian aliases.

"My name is Chemersin; it is that of a noble family and I am proud of it. My family has borne it for 400 years and I will never change it."

The dramatic sequel to this assertion, however, came a few days later when in a badly-lit street I happened to meet a shabby figure, grotesquely dressed in a dirty old caftan, top-boots and a Kalmuk fur hat: Chemersin! In a whisper he explained that on his way home a few days previously his gardener came to warn him that Trotsky's soldiers had searched his house and were waiting to arrest him. He therefore went to live in the gardener's cottage outside the town and the gardener had procured for him a false passport under the name of Ivanow. "I know what you are thinking," he said on seeing my smile. "But Ivanow is a respectable *Russian* name which I will not disgrace." I have not seen him since. . . .

Trotsky, seeing that his financial tactics had no effect on this crowd, which he could only regard as mad, played his second trump card:

"For the last time I appeal to you to make peace with the Soviet Government and the nation, which stands behind us. Therefore I have prepared forms for you," and he showed a bunch of papers, "they are *laissez-passers* which I will sign personally for everyone who decides to serve us. This building is surrounded by Red pickets and any one without a pass will be arrested on leaving the Foreign Office. I will now go to Comrade Fedoroff's desk to sign forms for all who apply." This second trump card—Fear—was in his Jewish mind as strong as the first—Material Profit.

"We are not afraid of you," Urussow remarked formally, as Trotsky walked towards the door. As I was standing near the door, our eyes met and he recognised me, even although I had been disguised as a workman the previous evening at the monster meeting, and he smiled at me bitterly.

"This meeting was not even as successful as yesterday's!" I remarked.



Photo by Jalón Angel, Saragossa

GENERAL FRANCISCO FRANCO

" He laughs best who laughs last," he replied curtly as he went to the doorkeeper's desk to sign passes. But nobody came to get them, nobody had reacted to his two weapons of Money and Terror. He was flabbergasted, for it was all beyond his Jewish comprehension. As he eventually left the building, he confessed to the doorkeeper : " I knew it was not good here—but I never thought they would go so far ! " He no longer wished to remain Foreign Commissar and later accepted the post of War Commissar, in which he was more successful : many officers came over to his side, possibly because those who had suffered insults from the soldiers excited by Kerensky, or whose families had been taken as hostages, now wished to wipe out all that was left of the Kerensky régime.

As I was leaving the Foreign Office, I saw a shabby, sleepy soldier mounting guard at the doors. He was wearily leaning on his rifle and speaking to young Ditloff, one of my colleagues.

" You are quite right," he was saying, " all these dirty Jews who call themselves our comrades, they rush about in expensive cars, they have all the women they want, the best wines, the palaces—and we Proletarians must mount guard here in the rain and protect them. Does this coat protect me against the Petrograd weather? And I've had no food since the morning—not even a cigarette. I was told to let no one pass without a permit signed by Comrade Trotsky, as he calls himself . . . but I should have turned into an icicle if that good old man," pointing to the bemedalled hall-porter, " hadn't had the decency to give me some tea, and you some cigarettes . . . who ever thinks of us, the Proletarians ! But it will always be like that—the bosses under the Tsars or under the Soviets, what do they care for the humble folk ! They may call themselves our comrades, but they will live in luxury and we, like sheep, will obey them. . . . Damn those Jews ! " he concluded, spitting indignantly. Ditloff gave him some more cigarettes. " Thank you, dear Barin ! " he said humbly, smiling at us as we went out, entirely unmolested by any Supporters of the Revolution. . . .

Although Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin all aimed at World Revolution, the methods they adopted in order to realise their aim differed from each other. They agree in the view that if Europe is to be subjected to Soviet rule, it must first be destroyed from within by means of class warfare and internal strife and the lower classes won over by promises of profits and future benefits. The Upper Classes must be demoralised

and turned into an amorphous mass by the influence of degenerate intellectuals. As for the Middle Class, they regard this as an inert, stupid mass from which they need fear no opposition and which, once they are in power, can easily be liquidated in the same way as the Kulaks in Russia.

The most effective method of achieving disruption in Europe is to cause social and economic disorganisation in the markets and dependencies outside Europe. War between non-Communist states is a good method by which to achieve their aim. The downfall of capitalist Europe must be engineered by way of India, China, the Colonies and the Dominions. The funds necessary for attaining this goal will be provided by the exploitation of the boundless wealth available in the Russian continent.

Trotsky believes in direct action and Stalin places all necessary funds at his disposal, although he himself has other methods in view and does not wish to rely on Trotsky alone. The work of each of these two leaders is a complement to the other, but what their actual programme is and what are the technical measures for carrying it out, will not be discovered until the revival of nations against Bolshevism causes the entire machinery to fall to the ground and the Bolshevist archives become public property. Bolshevik work outside Russia can be traced with a certain degree of certainty and this I will discuss in the following chapter. In the meantime I will point out that Bolshevik work is always adapted to suit different countries and different groups—even different individuals of the same group, and is carried out by Moscow agents apparently independently of each other.

The first step in the carrying out of the Soviet programme is Direct Action by means of forming and subsidising Communist Parties in non-Communist states. The second is the acquisition of friends and allies in those parties and groups destined to become the cannon-fodder of spiritual and material revolution ; such alliances would first be veiled, then open. The third, and by no means least important, step comes after the preliminary work has called forth the desired reaction and consists in applying the favourite principle of 'Destruction from Within.' For this purpose new organisations of an anti-Bolshevik character are founded and already existing organisations are permeated with anti-Bolshevik principle by means of agents. By this means the Soviets have the opportunity of working the oracle from two sides.

To illustrate the first step, that of organising Communist parties in non-Communist countries, pre-Hitler Germany can

serve as a striking example. After the War, when Germany was defeated, she presented ideal conditions for the propagation of Moscow principles in the very centre of continental Europe. I lived in Germany for the seven years preceding the advent of Hitler and gave all my time to watching Bolshevist experiments being carried out there. I studied conditions in Germany after her defeat and the consequent Spartacist Revolution, from which she emerged with the 'democratic' Weimar Constitution on the one hand, the Rapallo Treaty with the Soviets on the other.

To begin with, Germany, an industrial country in the very centre of Europe, whose very livelihood depended on world trade, suddenly found herself deprived of her Colonial possessions, while her mercantile fleet was destroyed and her foreign investments confiscated. Of her home territory she lost some 50,000 square kilometres. This included the rich industrial territories of Alsace and Upper Silesia, the ports of Danzig and Memel, and the agricultural districts of the Polish Corridor. But this was not all. Her way towards the south was barred, because the friendly old Austro-Hungarian Empire, which had stretched right down to the Balkans, had shrunk to a small state suffering from famine and demoralisation, while its rich territories had been stripped off to form independent states. One of these was Czechoslovakia, under the guidance of France, the main upholder of the Versailles Treaty, to which it owed its existence.

Eastwards Germany was bounded by Poland, which had acquired rich territories from her and had cut her in two by means of the Corridor. If one wishes to understand the result of this Corridor, one must imagine what it would be if, say, England were divided by a strip under foreign domination running from Liverpool to Hull. But even this was not all. The entire Versailles structure was planned in such a way that Germany should be tied down helplessly and surrounded by hostile neighbours pointing their spears against her. Promised plebiscites were turned into a farce, for they were carried out entirely irrespective of the principles governing free expression of opinion; if this did not bring the desired result, the plebiscite was simply ignored. The case of Upper Silesia is typical, where the frontier was purposely so drawn that the water-power would be on one side of the frontier, the factory on the other; or a man would need a special permit to cross the frontier and go to his garden or barn, which was in enemy country.

This was not yet all. The German population after a four

years' war against some forty enemy states, after losing territory and being cut up by foreign intrusion, was ordered to pay a contribution—or, what in the hypocritical post-war language is called Reparations, in the same way as annexation is called Mandate and highway robbery Socialisation. These reparations amounted to an unprecedented sum and Germany was cynically ordered to pay to her utmost capacity. This meant famine and complete starvation. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, France paid off her contribution in a few years and the matter was finished. But Germany had the prospect of paying for three generations, or 67 years, and every year to her 'utmost capacity.'

The opportunities given by these various circumstances were too good for the promoters of World Revolution to miss, if they aimed at bringing revolution into Germany. It was a chance in a lifetime, for ruin and despair are automatically followed by Extremism. Thus, years before the Franco-Soviet Pact of 1936 came into being, the *Versailles Treaty was actually the one trustworthy ally of World Revolution*, for it prepared the ground for Revolution in the heart of Europe, irrespective of whether or not Germany believed that the Rapallo Treaty would save her from Bolshevism and Versailles.

The centre of continental Europe was definitely weakening, and if 'Democracy becomes Conservative when it has something to conserve,' then the reverse is also true. It must not be overlooked that in the distant past Germany had never had definite and ethnographic frontiers, she had always been the arena for foreign invasions and armies marched through her in all directions. In order to protect herself from these invasions she lived up to the principle that, if you want peace, you must prepare for war. These various reasons have gradually resulted in the German desire for unity and the German interpretation of unity is that the State must be powerful and stand in the first place. This outlook again resulted in the innate sense of military discipline and of unconditional obedience to the State.

With regard to War-Guilt, it was easy to blame a defeated Germany for the war and make her sign any document, but after an impartial survey of facts one can only say that she was far from being alone responsible; but as 'Victors must not be judged,' nothing more remains to be said on the matter.

The Russian Foreign Minister in whose Chancellery I worked from 1912 to 1917, once told me that expansion was the sacred duty of Holy Russia and could only be achieved by a defeat in war of Germany and Austria. France, rightly or wrongly,

desired revenge for 1871, as her people were continually being reminded by the crepe-draped statue of Strasbourg in the Place de la Concorde, as her children were taught to think when singing :

'Vous n' aurez pas l'Alsace et la Lorraine,
Et malgré vous nous resterons Français.'

However much England might have desired to avoid war in 1914, she would obviously benefit from it, because at that time Germany was increasing her navy, her trade, her colonies, at high pressure. Therefore England can hardly be called an unbiased observer when discussing the events leading up to the War.

The War over, I would ask whether, taking the political, social, and economic interdependence of the world into consideration, it was good policy to destroy Germany, the centre of Europe, and I also ask what will be the verdict of future historians on Versailles ? Not a favourable one, that is certain. From the point of view of European civilisation as a whole, Germany was in deep distress and seeing the treatment—deserved or undeserved—meted out to her by the West, she instinctively turned her eyes to the East, towards Russia and undiluted Extremism. The Rapallo Treaty then completed the picture of the inroads made by Oriental Bolshevism into Germany and was, in fact, the complement of the Versailles Treaty in the scheme to bring about World Revolution.

France with the Versailles Treaty in the West, Soviet Russia with the Rapallo Treaty in the East, were both the tools in the hands of the Moscow leaders who reasoned on the basis that a defeated country can more easily be coerced into Bolshevism than a victorious and prosperous one. The idea that the Rapallo Treaty was a weapon against Versailles can be dismissed as nonsensical.

The Rapallo and Berlin Treaties do not expire till 1938, but owing to the reconstruction and salvation of Germany by Hitler they are now in a state of hibernation. In the meantime, however, the Moscow leaders were getting all they could from Germany, and Germany, too ready to grasp the outstretched hand of Russia, sent machinery and experts and helped to organise Soviet industries. She also gave credits, often by means of funds she had borrowed from England and other countries. The inevitable outcome of this was the increasing poverty and depression of Germany and this again led to Extremism. The members of the Government were elected by the misguided and distressed masses, who were not

guided by an uninterrupted Parliamentary tradition as in England, and who were ready to believe any exaggerated promises. The Reichstag therefore became a nest of Extremism and its twenty-seven different parties were uncompromising and inimical to each other. The increasingly Marxist tendencies of the Government finally gave rise to the Weimar Constitution with its democratic promises and Utopian ideas. Party interests, personal ambitions and the theory that the Marxian State must stand supreme resulted in stalemate. Private initiative was killed, as it was entirely subjugated to the State. The following experiences will perhaps illustrate my meaning :

In 1923 I started for a trip to East Prussia on behalf of the American paper for which I was working. East Prussia is that part of Germany that has been separated from the main country by the Polish Corridor. As the train approached the Corridor, every door was sealed. Armed guards boarded it and ordered all windows to be closed during the crossing of the Vistula. A gloomy silence descended on all passengers, the only sound heard above the rumbling of the crawling train was the clank of arms. A narrow strip of land on the further side, running parallel to the river, was Polish territory, so that the Prussian population had no access to the river to which they claimed that they had a historical right.

Since Hitler's advent to power and the signing of a ten years' truce with Poland much has been done to avoid petty friction, but yet the unbearable situation remains. And this is close on twenty years after the end of the war ! Last year one of my English friends, Miss F. Mackenzie, was threatened by arrest as she was crossing this Polish frontier in a through train from Berlin to East Prussia for, as she had not intended to alight in the Corridor, she had not considered it necessary to obtain a Polish transit visa.

On my arrival at Königsberg, capital of East Prussia, I immediately reported to the authorities and presented letters of introduction from various influential friends in Berlin. I was received with the utmost courtesy and a Police Major was put at my disposal for the few weeks of my intended stay. ' To show me the country,' I was told. From that day on he would call for me at the Hotel Central at eight o'clock or even earlier to ' take me sight-seeing,' and would never leave my side till I retired to bed about eleven o'clock at night.

At that time an Interallied Commission of Control was stationed at Königsberg, with its headquarters in the Hotel Central. The object of this Commission was to discover

hidden ammunition dumps ; but in their search they made themselves thoroughly disliked, because neither arms nor ammunition worth mentioning existed. As nobody in the hotel wished to serve them, they lived as though in a besieged camp, often relying for food on the tins they procured from their canteen. On returning to my hotel late one evening I had a narrow escape, for an empty bottle was hurled at me from an adjoining house—but fortunately it struck a lamp-post a few inches from my head : I had apparently been mistaken for a member of the Commission !

The major attached to me was a pleasant old gentleman and extremely efficient. As we went on our sightseeing tours, he would stop at every building and explain it to me. Even at the University he stopped and said : " This is where young people study science. They attend lectures and have their knowledge tested as examinations." Doing this he described as *Erklärung*, which it was his sacred duty to give me. When I explained that I knew what a university was and, over and above that, also knew that Kant had lived and worked here, even giving him the names of his books, he seemed overwhelmed at my knowledge and immediately made some notes, his expression clearly showing that he thought I must be one of those who had come to spy.

One evening I retired to my room earlier than usual, suffering from severe indigestion. The poor ' Erklärungs-Major,' as I called him, was as distressed as though he were personally responsible for all the food in Königsberg and asked if he could do anything for me. As my knowledge of German was very poor in those days, I wrote down the name of some medicine I was in the habit of taking on such occasions and asked him to get it for me, no doctor's prescription being needed. He went off.

Hours passed and there was no sign of him, so I sent for the porter, who went out and got me the medicine from the nearest chemist. I was soon asleep and knew no more till I was awakened at seven next morning by the Major. Standing at attention, he reported that all was in order now and produced half a dozen official documents all dealing with my indigestion ! At first I could not make head or tail of his story, but in the end I gathered that when he had left me he had gone straight to his superior officers. They had then given him a document for the Central Government office ; here he received an order for the Medical Department, which in its turn handed him an official permit to procure the medicine from a special chemist, thus carrying out Government instruc-

tions. This roundabout procedure was absolutely typical of German officialdom, where even the most unimportant matters must be dealt with through State organisation—*raison d'État* must prevail in large as well as in small problems. It had been the tradition under the Kaiser, it was the tradition of the Civil Servants, mainstay of Germany, during the Extremist régime. No matter whether the Kaiser or the Marxists were in power, discipline and blind obedience were the watchwords.

If, by an unfortunate chance, Germany ever turned Bolshevist, then the Soviets only need to make use of that inborn tradition as soon as they managed to establish themselves in the key positions of the country. And much bloodshed and destruction would follow until they would realise the falsehood of the Government in power and in self-protection overthrow it. Discipline, order, and organisation is the mainstay of Germany, a continental country surrounded by warring neighbours and without geographical well-protected frontiers in the past; it has therefore to rely on unity, discipline and order, and in self-defence has often to apply the formula that attack is the best form of protection.

Now we will discuss the possibility of post-war Germany opposing this apparently irresistible trend towards Extremism and Bolshevism, and try and find out whence salvation could come. Would it come through the Church, the ruling classes, Prussian Junkerdom, Trade Unions, the Army, or the Government?

The ruling class consisted of the Prussian Junkers, while Prussia itself was the guiding and directing centre of the entire German Empire, which had been brought into being by Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, in 1871. The war of 1914, however, followed by destruction, defeat and demoralisation, resulted in the overthrow of the ruling class because in the eyes of the masses this class—the Junkers—was responsible for defeat. Once their authority had gone, they could hardly hope to re-establish themselves; besides, they had suffered irreparable losses both of life and wealth. Authority became a negligible factor which, during the years of turmoil, could be taken up by anyone who had the courage and energy to do so. The following incident will show to what extent authority vanished with the flight of the Kaiser:

In 1928 I wrote a book of *Memoirs*, of which the German translation was published by the Berlin firm that had already published memoirs of such men as Poincaré, Sir George Buchanan, Conrad von Hötzendorf, Sasonow, and others. I was honoured to be in such distinguished company. When

I heard that the same firm was publishing the Kaiser's first *Memoirs*, I congratulated the publisher, for I took it for granted that the book would be a great material success and bought by all the Kaiser's German supporters. But the publisher only smiled ruefully. "Now that you have broached the subject, will you make a guess at the number of copies we have sold?"

I remembered that the sales of my *Memoirs*, those of an unknown author, had amounted to some 3,000 copies, so I made a guess and replied: "Surely not less than 20,000."

Very bitterly he replied: "I only wish you were right! But we sold barely a thousand—and of those more than half were bought by the Kaiser himself for distribution amongst his friends!" This proved to my mind that the Kaiser and all he had stood for, was already completely wiped out from the memories of the masses.

Was the Church going to save Germany from the verge of the abyss? The first point to remember is that, broadly speaking, Germany is two-thirds Protestant and one-third (the Rhineland and Bavaria) Catholic. In the past, the various reigning princes of the different Protestant states were regarded as the heads of the local Church. After the Revolution, when the Kaiser and the reigning princes were overthrown, the Protestant churches lost their protectors, but instead of uniting with each other and thus gaining strength, they tried to keep their local privileges. This was partly due to tradition, partly to the fear lest unification would cause the local clergy to lose their—possibly only fictitious—rights. Perturbed by Extremism, they began drifting along and losing even the small spiritual hold they still had over the population.

The case of the Catholic Church, however, was entirely different, for the head of this was in Rome, centre of a perfect world-wide organisation. Therefore, once the lay centres in Germany disappeared, the Catholic Church became the rallying point—not only for Catholics, but for Protestants who were disillusioned by the destruction of social and political life and who found the spiritual leadership they needed in the Catholic creed. Strangely enough, therefore, the Catholic Church profited by the growth of Extremism, for it increased its number of proselytes. In those days Berlin, centre of Extremism, degenerated into the most immoral city in the world, where murder and sexual perversion flourished hand in hand with Atheism and Communism, and blasphemous plays were produced in all theatres. One of these 'Hopla! Wir leben!' (Hoopla, we're alive!)—represented the Almighty as a dissipated old drunkard indulging in loathsome

orgies with St. Cecilia, a prostitute. The Government even indirectly subsidised these theatres by exempting them from the usual entertainment tax. And it was here in Berlin, international and predominantly Protestant centre, that many dozen Catholic churches were built in a few years—usually in a super-futurist style of architecture in order to satisfy popular taste, which was under the influence of Extremism even in matters of art.

When the Centre Party, which consisted of Catholics under the leadership of Prelate Kaas and Dr. Brüning eventually came to power, it took its orders direct from Rome, at the same time being in complete and increasing alliance with Marxists. These leaders fully realised that Extremism was an ally, for during the chaos resulting from it, the Catholic Church was built up on a solid foundation and formed a rallying point at a time when accepted standards were falling one by one. It is extraordinary how, immediately the old regime fell, its Catholic supporters overnight, so to say, joined the Left Wing.

As the years went on, however, and healthy reaction showed itself by the growth of Nationalism, the Catholic Church saw in this a serious competitor to its own hegemony, but instead of seeking some form of compromise or agreement it not only attacked the adherents of Nationalism, but excommunicated the Nazis, a newly created party of which the majority of members came from Bavaria and the Rhineland and were devoted Catholics. I know that in moments of great tension, when everything seemed to be heading towards ruin, the Catholics saw a solution in the separation of these two states from the raging Red ocean of the rest of Germany, but as I will show later, the coming of Hitler saved Germany from such dismemberment.

Was salvation to be found in the various non-Prussian states? I very much wonder. The local Nationalism of states such as Bavaria could be described as a kind of mild Particularism, or 'parish-pump patriotism,' which could not possibly make a stand against Extremism if this took the form of a Bolshevik state centred in Prussia and the Catholic states; nor could it rally round itself other non-Catholic states with the exception of the Rhineland. The ruling class of those Catholic states had suffered huge losses in the War, so that all they could do was to speak of the Bavarian Republic as the 'Königliche Bayrische Republik,' because Prince Rupprecht, one of the Wittelsbachs, was still living peacefully in his hereditary Bavarian castles. The organisation of these lands on a Conservative basis was hindered by the pressure of the extreme

Socialist Central Government of Berlin which, under the Weimar Constitution, exercised more rights over the Federal States than had been the case in the days of the Kaiser's Government. Local laws and privileges were more and more restricted till all that was left of them was the right to grant visas to foreigners desiring to enter Bavaria and the right to levy export-duty on foodstuffs in order to prevent food being sent to other parts of Germany when it became scarce there as a result of the Extremist system.

Now as regards the Trades Unions. Could they put up an efficient opposition against Extremism? Would they remain untouched by influences imported from Soviet Russia? Most certainly not. As a result of their class organisation they could have been described as a more or less egoistic party which entirely ignored the rest of the population and which put forward demands that ruined the industries already suffering from the depression. This was obviously done deliberately with a view to undermining the Capitalist system—or what remained of it. Threats and strikes of all kinds were organised and there was hardly anyone, in the Government or outside it, who could put a stop to the daily increasing class-antagonism propagated by the Trades Unions.

The Moscow friends of Weimar Germany launched a well-prepared scheme by means of which they got a foothold in the Trades Unions and occupied the key positions in transport, mining, industry, etc., so that, when the right moment came, they could paralyse the entire country and get the power into their own hands. It was not long before a well-organised minority, supplied with funds and leaders by Moscow, could grow into a majority in the Unions. Strikes and demands increased and the extreme Socialist Government, based on a Parliament full of dissension, was too weak to check Extremism, even had it wanted to do so.

Later, the Brüning Government tried to settle strikes by taking the initiative in its own hands and appointing Arbitrators. These men were usually Government employees with Democratic or Liberal tendencies. One of my publishers was appointed Arbitrator, or *Schiedsrichter*, and he told me that his whole time was taken up by rushing from one town to another, trying to settle strikes and deal with demands. As soon as he thought he had settled matters and departed, a telegram would summon him to return immediately as the Workers' Committee had put forward new demands. He told me that after thorough investigation he had found out that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred these demands were insignificant,

but they had been put forward by the Communist Cells who terrorised the workmen if they refused to make them. This was the result of the Government having opened the doors to Moscow influence.

A Communist Party was organised, subsidised and directed by Moscow. German workmen and whole staffs of experts went over to Russia in order to fulfil the contracts resulting from the Rapallo Treaty and when they returned the Soviets tried to permeate them with Communism, and if they agreed, they were well supplied with funds and propaganda. As the general situation grew worse, the Communist Party grew bolder; it contained some six million voters and from these a Red Front Army emerged, ready for the last attack. This came from the East by means of propaganda, from the West by means of French pressure in the Occupied Territories, for the burden of this Occupation was borne by an already distressed and ruined Germany.

The aim of France was the destruction of Germany. In order to make the humiliation of Germany yet more bitter, coloured troops were sent to the Ruhr and Rhineland and they were strictly ordered to treat the civilian population as though a war were still in progress. If a kindly French private, horrified at the distress of the starving people round him, so far forgot himself as to share with them his generous rations, or even to give them a few francs—at that time equal to millions of Marks—or, worse still, to make friends with the people on whom he was quartered and marry his host's daughter, then he would immediately be recalled to France, only to be replaced by cruel contingents of coloured troops. The Occupation authorities opened brothels, for which the women were supplied from the German population by the simple expedient of imprisoning the parents, occupying their houses and turning their daughters into prostitutes. Even so, there were over six hundred marriages contracted in one year alone between French soldiers and local German girls, whereupon, as I have already remarked, the soldiers were recalled to France. This state of affairs is illustrated by an incident which I will quote here.

As I was travelling through Germany from Warsaw on my way to Paris, I shared a compartment with a French captain. This man was at the time a member of the French Military Mission in Warsaw and prior to that he had been in the Occupied Areas of Germany. With sadistic satisfaction he told me that there his greatest pleasure had been to take a company of Senegalese to the local German cemetery and to

desecrate the tombs of the 'damned Boche.' This blasphemy was too much for my innate feelings of Christianity, but he was only amused at my repugnance and, had I not had the ribbon of the Legion d'Honneur in my buttonhole, he would have taken me for a German agent.

According to the official statistics for Southern Germany, of the 1500 children born there in one year, 60 per cent were half-breeds with the visible symptoms of venereal disease. The Germans remember that time with horror and think of the English Occupation as Heaven compared with the French Hell. "The English behaved like gentlemen," I was told everywhere I went in Cologne. "They were like friends." Fair play and magnanimity was the tradition with English officers and privates alike.

When Extremism grew, when the Mark came to be worth less than the paper on which it was printed so that the middle stratas were ruined overnight, their meagre savings and pensions suddenly turning into nought, Germany was an easy prey for the speculators who flocked to her like carrion crows from all over the world. Foreign currency was the only thing that counted in those days. During a stay in Munich my room and meals in the best hotel cost me the equivalent of ten shillings for ten days. On my arrival there I wished to send my address to my London editor, so I took a fifty-million Mark note, which was printed only on one side, divided the blank side in two, wrote 'Postcard' and the address on one half, my message on the other: this was cheaper than buying a post-card in a shop. The fluctuations of the Mark had the most fantastic results. Shops had to close during the day so that the piles of paper money could be rushed to a bank and exchanged for foreign currency, the value of which was rising hour by hour. As the value of the Mark differed in various parts of Germany, people laden with bags of paper money hurried to towns where they could sell it at more profitable rates. Here again the French tried to profit and did their best to persuade the people, harassed by famine and Extremism, to declare themselves independent of Germany and attach themselves to France and French currency. This was especially the case in the Rhine Palatinate. But as no German would swallow the bait, the French had to seek other means; so they found people who styled themselves 'Independent Palatinate Government.' Even this plan was unsuccessful, in spite of the help given by the French authorities.

Over and above the astronomical Reparations that Germany was expected to pay, she had to bear the expenses of the

Occupation. The middle stratas, hit first by the war, then by Revolution, were at their last gasp. In order to buy food from speculators whose motto was 'Everything for Nothing,' they had to sell all they possessed. It was a devil's dance over the dying body of Germany, egged on by her friends of Moscow and their ally, the Versailles Treaty. It was not long before German credit was at such a low ebb that Western countries refused to trade with her. But the passive resistance of Germany, as it was called then, only continued, and in her desperate desire not to yield to French pressure she grasped the outstretched treacherous hand of Moscow as a drowning man clutches at a straw. Oddly enough, the idea of Russian help fascinated the man in the street as well as the statesman.

In those days I had a long conversation with Baron Maltzan, Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Weimar Germany and the author of the Rapallo and the Berlin Treaties. He was an aristocrat of the old régime, with nothing that suggested Communism in either his views or his appearance. He gave me a candid description of Germany's position in Rapallo. The Allies were pressing for her complete degradation and humiliation and wished her cut off from both the East and the West. With this end in view Lloyd George was prepared to recognise the Soviets and bring them over to his side. Therefore it was necessary to act, and to act promptly—and the Rapallo Treaty was signed.

"Just look at it this way," Maltzan said to me: "Here am I, neither Bolshevik nor Extremist; I would like to see Russia with one of the Grand Dukes at her head—I know some of them personally. Yet we must be realists. For the present, the Soviets are the undisputed masters of Russia. What would you do in that case, you who have been trained in the old school of Russian Diplomacy?"

I explained my view that Soviet Russia's only trustworthy ally in Europe was the Versailles Treaty, and that her aim is, and always will be, World Revolution, whatever she may assert. Also that Revolution can be easily brought about in a distressed and ruined country, such as Germany was then.

"What would I do?" I repeated. "If I were in your place I would sign that Treaty with both hands—but I would make a bargain of it. I mean to say that on the very day I signed it, I would sell it in exchange for an agreement with the Western Powers, and the quicker I managed to sell it, the higher price I could obtain for it, because as the buyer would not believe that it is a fruit already rotting at the core, he would be ready to give a good price. But in any case I would sell it at any

price, because the longer I kept it, the more rotten it would become—and a rotting thing is unpleasant to keep because it spreads unhealthy germs among those who keep it. It is like Red Riding-Hood letting the wolf into her grandmother's hut, because he gobbles them both up ! The longer you keep that fruit, the less you will receive for it, because the buyer will more easily see through it."

Such was the position in those days of the Rapallo Treaty between Germany and Soviet Russia, and such also is the position of the Franco-Soviet Treaty of to-day. To-day the aim of both parties—i.e. France and Soviet Russia—is to point a spearhead against Germany, then it was to point a spearhead against France and Versailles. Then as now the part played by the Soviets is the same and has nothing to do with helping the co-signatory : it is to foment World Revolution in the heart of the ally—then Germany, to-day France.

Immense business transactions followed the signing of the Treaty. Germany had to strain every nerve in her efforts to satisfy the demands of Moscow, even the credits she succeeded in obtaining from former allies were poured into the Danaides' cask of Soviet appetites. Moscow had the situation thoroughly in hand and pulled all wires most effectively, looking on every transaction, economic or otherwise, as a weapon wherewith to further her cause of World Revolution. The Soviets soon controlled the excellent German banking system and forced it to carry out the banking orders of its most important client —Soviet Moscow, so that it in fact became the distributing centre of the Third International. By means of their sound international organisation, these banks carried out all transfer and credit operations. It was not long before the Boards of these Banks included directors who were in fact nominees of the chief clients—Moscow—even if only unofficial nominees. In this way the Soviets obtained an excellent insight into all that was happening behind the scenes of the Europe of those days.

In discussing the question of whence the possible salvation of Germany might come, I have dealt with the Junkers, the Church, the Trades Unions and the Government. Thus there remains the Army. Could this prevent Germany falling into the Soviet trap ? The answer is most certainly NO. In the first place, Germany had been forced by the victors to disband the Army, all but a small contingent quite inadequate for holding up Revolution by military measures. The head of the Army entirely approved of Russia, as he regarded her as a playground, a hinterland, where he could train and recon-

struct the cadres of the future. The Germans helped the Russians to build up their industries and factories for the production of arms, ammunition, poison gas and aeroplanes, just as they are now being helped by the allies of to-day, France and Czechoslovakia. The Germans considered that in Russia they were far beyond the reach of Versailles and all it stood for and spoke of the Russians as 'Our Red Brothers' —not realising that a better name would have been 'Our *false* Red Brothers.' Added to this, the number of Extremist was daily growing in Germany. These told anyone who was inclined to doubt them that 'We are building up an allied force against Versailles.' Or else: 'Our Communist cells and Third International organisations are exclusively intended for external use.' They said their activities were for export to France, but France now says such activities are for export to Germany.

German theatres and cinemas were in the hands of speculators and controlled by international Jews, whose motto was Money, Money, and Money. They made fortunes by fostering Extremism. Books were published, such as *All Quiet on the Western Front*, in which the author, hitherto known only by his book of cocktail recipes, poured scorn and derision on the army and on the soldier's duty to give his life for his country. A soldier was regarded with suspicion in Germany and elsewhere by Marxist and Soviet agents, while plays and films were shown which were nothing less than flattering to the army. Soviet films such as "The Mutiny on the Potemkin," which upheld the murdering of officers and showed them being thrown overboard, were wildly applauded by an audience which was ignorant of the fact that such films were produced for export only and were banned inside the Soviet Union.

The film business in Weimar Germany of those days could be described as a genus apart. An important company went bankrupt in spite of having been subsidised by the 'D' Banks to the amount of several million gold Marks. Hereupon a right-wing press magnate bought it for a few million and began to clean it up. It was then discovered that long contracts had been signed with film stars who only appeared in the studios for a few days a year, spending the remainder of the time dashing about in expensive cars owned by the directors and other members of the Board. Periodicals were published by nudist clubs, ostensibly for the purpose of physical culture, but reproducing obscene photographs by the hundred.

It is a curious coincidence that when Hitler came to power in January 1933 and swept all this unsavoury literature away,

by March of the same year the London bookstalls were overflowing with the same type of periodicals, while nudist clubs were opened everywhere, even although the English climate can hardly be called conducive to nudism! The periodicals published by these clubs showed the same photographs of the same persons that had already appeared in the German journals. The family idea was also treated in a scornful manner, and in theatres and films pregnant women were ridiculed. I know of entire streets in the north of Berlin—the working-class suburbs—where, during the years of Extremism, not one single child was born owing to the abortion generally practised. Even religion, as I have already shown, did not escape the campaign of scorn. Night cabarets with displays of sexual perversion and strip-tease acts of the most obscene character became so general that people took them for granted without troubling to protest and the National Theatre was replaced by international sexual performances.

When Hitler came to power he ordered a house-to-house search in the premises of Communists and their leaders, and in one house alone more than sixty tons of pornographic and subversive literature was discovered, obviously intended for mass distribution. The owner of this house was an old Russian Jewess and Communist member of the Reichstag. As she was senior member of the Reichstag, she had presided over its first meeting, where she delivered an impertinent speech expressing the hope that the next Reichstag would be replaced by a Soviet.

Organisers of the white slave traffic swooped down upon this pre-Hitler Germany like birds of prey. They formed bogus companies for the ostensible purpose of making adventure films among the Pampas of South America, and signed contracts with armies of film-struck girls, who were promptly packed off to South America in specially chartered ships. Misled parents were only too glad to encourage their daughters to save their lives by leaving Germany, which had become a pariah among nations, and made no objection to their joining the companies which had been so much advertised in the Extremist Press. I particularly remember one incident in connection with this film business. One of these ships was due to sail for South America with its cargo of girls, when it was stormed by a party of the girls' fiancés, who had discovered the true facts. With the assistance of the police, who had been powerless to deal with this mass-deportation alone, they succeeded in saving the girls from being lost in Argentine brothels. The whole of this unsavoury trade was in the

hands of International Jewry in general and the scum of Russian Jewry in particular.

In order to understand fully the various issues that came into play in this connection, we must go back to the days of Tsarist Russia, where millions of Jews lived and were persecuted—not to the degree that they are supposed to be persecuted now, or that the Russian population was persecuted under the Red Dictators, but yet sufficiently to make them hate Russia and its ruling class.

Under the Tsars, the ordinary Jew was not allowed to live in the capitals or in fact anywhere in Northern Russia. Special areas, or Pales, were allotted to them, and these comprised the Ukraine and the pre-Vistula Areas (Poland). They could not occupy Government positions or own property, while the Liberal Professions were practically closed to them in consequence of the Numerus Clausus. Under conscription they were forced to join the army, but could not become officers, and derision of the 'Jew Coward' was the leitmotif in the army. What then was left for them? They could only become middle-men in commerce and finance.

In my own case, for example, as a landowner in the Ukraine, I could not buy a cow, or sell my grain or the produce of my orchards, without applying to the local Jewish middleman, who knew all the ropes and was always extremely helpful. We landowners, on our part, would protect these Jews against the arbitrary persecution of the Tsarist police, who were always ready to treat the Jew as a convenient scapegoat in times of political stress or disturbance; the status of the Jew was, in fact, not regulated so much by law as by Ukases and the decrees of local police authorities. In time we landowners each came to have our own pet Jew under our protection, our middleman, with whom we got on extremely well.

This system of the 'Pet Jew' came to be an institution sanctioned by custom and was passed on from father to son. In this manner the instinct of the middleman came to be inborn in the Jew, who regarded everything as an object for commercial transaction. Here the following custom is not without interest: When we used to come to the district-town from our estates for the day in order to settle various business matters with banks, authorities, etc., we always went to the local hotel, of which the proprietor was some landowner's Pet Jew. He would look after us well and, after repeating all the gossip, would pass on to business. He would offer to buy our harvest, our cows, our horses—or to sell anything from a cow or a horse to a shooting lodge. If you thanked him and said 'Not

this time,' he would usually smile and, leaning forward confidentially, would say :

'And what about a woman? I have a marvellous one—just the thing for you,' and to encourage you would give all the details of her beauty, finishing up with : 'I know her well, for she is my nicce.'

In this connection it is noteworthy that he was not ashamed to offer a member of his own family, because he regarded it as a business transaction ; also, an *affaire* with a Gentile did not count as immoral ; the same offer would never have been made to another Jew, for they rigidly upheld the sanctity of the family. If, for instance, a Jewess deceived her Jewish husband with another Jew, then the whole of Jewry would rise up against her ; but a Gentile did not count—it was a business transaction.

These Jewish middlemen, living on or near the estates of the great landowners, were incredibly prolific, and the father of a large family was regarded as a sort of Old Testament Patriarch. He would be faithful to the landowner, would be a Conservative and to a certain degree would be satisfied with his status in life. He only concentrated on accumulating sufficient money for the needs of his family, while his Idealism did not go beyond the possession of a cheap copy of Dr. Herzl's portrait. If he ever dreamed of Palestine, this was not so much for himself as a concrete objective for future generations and their settlement in the Promised Land under Zionism.

In typical fortunate cases, one of his sons would become a lawyer, another—the Numerus Clausus permitting—a doctor. The eldest son might be a Liberal and later even a member of the Cadet Party (Constitutional-Democratic) when this became legal with the foundation of the Duma. The second son, the doctor or the dentist as the case might be, would secretly be a member of the Social-Democratic Party, which was periodically persecuted by the police. And the third son would always be an Extremist and would always be causing trouble by being mixed up in Revolutionary plots, even occasionally getting himself imprisoned. In that case the old Patriarch, with his greasy corkscrew curls and dirty old caftan, would come wailing to the landowner for help. The landowner would first scold and thunder at him, then, thanks to the weight he carried with the local authorities, would succeed in getting the hothead released, even going bail for him to the intense joy of the old father. And a few months later the whole story would begin again.

Usually the younger Jewish generation only dreamed of escaping from Russia and getting themselves smuggled over the Polish frontier with the help of their masses of relatives living in Poland, which was within the Pale. This escape was usually engineered when the young man attained his twenty-first year and conscription would force him into the hated Imperial Army. The refugee would then go to America, a Promised Land, where his Jewish relatives and friends, assisted by the mighty American Jewish organizations, would help him to settle and make a living.

In order to understand fully this state of affairs it must be remembered that the Jews are not so much a nationality as a Race. The hardships which the Jews have suffered for many hundreds of years have caused them to hate the countries and laws that persecuted them and, in their heart of hearts, to look upon the Gentile with a contempt that belied any exterior show of servility. The one thing that has enabled them to carry on through the ages is their mighty faith in the Talmud, which orders them to scorn the Gentiles and serve their own race.

It is not surprising that centuries of persecution should have resulted in the Jew being the victim of an inferiority complex, most troublesome element of the human character. The farther east one went in Europe, the more apparent this became. And after all, why should they love a country and rulers who treated them like dogs? Any prominent positions being barred to them in such countries, the only aim left to their active minds and unlimited ambition was money. With money one could go far and feel comparatively comfortable, money obtained by any methods that presented themselves, so long as they did not get them into trouble. As they are a race rather than a nationality, they naturally regarded the system of national passports as a pure matter of convenience and expediency. Why should they fight and give their lives for a country that despised them?

This outlook is illustrated by the following incident which happened to me while I was secretary to Sasonow, the Foreign Minister. At the beginning of the War I repeatedly asked him to release me from my service so that I could join the army according to the sacred tradition of my family, members of which had been either soldiers or sailors for many generations past. But the Minister always bluntly refused, saying: 'No. You are needed in the Foreign Office. What would be the use of your going to be killed as a soldier? You cannot afford to be ordinary cannon-fodder.' But the longer the War went on

the more persistent I became, always eliciting a refusal, till at length I fell back upon a ruse. As I was really very tired, working sixteen hours a day, I applied for a holiday and was granted ten days leave. I went to our Ukrainian estate, where I presented myself to the recruiting commission of the district and was told to come up for the usual examination of physical fitness. In the small, overcrowded room a number of us sat on long benches in a state of nature waiting our turn to go before the doctor. My neighbours on the bench were two Jews. At last my name was called and I stood up before the doctor, who carefully examined me.

'No good,' he said, 'your heart has an organic defect.'

I began to argue, pointing out that I had been healthy enough to introduce cricket and football into Russia and had taken prizes for figure-skating, which is a hard test, as all skaters must know. I also rode on horseback for many miles daily. The doctor, losing patience, said sternly:

'Young man, you don't know what you are talking about. I know you are no good, and we don't want to burden ourselves with invalids. Right about turn!' and he called the next name. But I still stood there protesting, and in a lull I overheard one of the Jews saying to the other, while pointing to his forehead:

'He is sick here—not in his heart!'

He obviously thought me mad for wanting to join the army.

The Jews, as we see, were always restricted to the role of the middleman. In places where prices were fixed, or where consumer and producer were close to each other and there was no need for a chain of middlemen, the scope of the Jew was restricted. But in places where the contrary was the case, the opportunity for making money was and is greater. Hence the predominance of Jews in those countries and trades where prices fluctuate as a result of disorganization and instability. In social and economic turmoil the middleman predominates.

I remember the case of Petrograd during the fighting: one part of the town would be well supplied with meat, another with flour, and it was thanks to the middlemen that the people were able to get what they needed. If this was the case in one town alone, how much larger was their scope in entire countries suffering from disorganization! Thus wars widen their field of operation and as a result of their world-wide connections, the Jews can deal with such conditions better than anybody else. Jewish capital, especially that of the Eastern Jews, is not tied up in one country, but floats from one to another irrespective of frontiers.

The March Revolution of 1917 removed the restrictions on Jews. Hence the Jews, who for many years had been connected with 'The Opposition to His Majesty,' acquired a disproportionately large number of places in the Provisional Government. When the Provisional Government began to tend towards the Left, it was the turn of the typical second son, the Socialist. It is also a strange fact, possibly to be explained by centuries of persecution, that a Jew never wished to be openly at the head of anything, preferring to shift the responsibility on to some figure-head.

In normal times the Jew concentrated his activities on trading with goods of no fixed values, such as antiques, old clothes, etc., but in times of war and revolution his field for activity was indescribably larger and the enormous government contracts gave middlemen their opportunities. During the War, for instance, Russia was growing very short of arms and ammunition and all our efforts to procure them failed. We therefore asked several prominent Jews for their help, promising them large profits. They willingly agreed and in a few months we were provided with the machinery for making shrapnel. After studying the official documents at my disposal in the Foreign Office I discovered that these machines had come by way of Holland and Denmark from Krupps in Germany and that in exchange the Jews bought wheat and shipped it to Germany by roundabout ways—and we were at war with Germany and needed ammunition for fighting the Germans! Who could have carried out such deals except the Jews, with their innumerable connections in both camps?

When the Bolshevik Revolution came, it gave an opportunity to the typical third son—'That intolerable Leva' (diminutive of Leon), as the Patriarch had called him when pleading his cause before the landowner—and he became a Bolshevik Commissar. Extremism in the Soviet Russia of those days was directed mainly against the 'oppressors' of yesterday, and it was certainly not going to be checked by the Jews, whether in the Government or outside it. If it happened during the fighting between the Red and White Armies that the Reds took hostages and shot them, it is pretty certain that these victims were Gentiles; but of the companies used for digging trenches not one was shot, for they were rich and related to Jewish commissars.

The Jews, who were by nature cowardly owing to centuries of derision and degradation under a previous régime, evinced the most unprecedented hatred of yesterday's ruling class as soon as they had positions on the Cheka. But as the Bolshevik

Revolution progressed it took a turn that was utterly unexpected for the rank and file Jew. For the Soviet Government introduced the monopoly of Home and Foreign Trade and cancelled private property, so that those Jews who were not in the Government were suddenly stranded. So they began a wave of emigration to non-Soviet countries. If we Russians and Ukrainians, aristocrats and *bourgeois* alike, became political emigrants and fled from terror and persecution by the thousand, the Jewish masses left the country in tens of thousands as economic emigrants. They came to Poland, now independent, only to find that the Jews in an independent and resuscitated Poland lived under worse conditions than in Russia, and that their bulk were herded in the medieval surroundings of Ghettoes.

The Poles hated the Jews, yet over 40 per cent of commerce and finance in Poland were in the hands of important Jews. As this was not the ideal of freedom hoped for by the Russian and Ukrainian Jews, they moved yet farther westwards. The more fortunate among them went straight to America and England where, helped by their friends and relations, they were able to settle down quickly. Others moved on to Weimar Germany by the thousand and settled there. At that period Germany was in the throes of social, political, and economic Extremism, with German Jews playing leading parts not only in the Government, but in other walks of life as well. The Liberal Professions, cinemas, the Press, hospital staffs, to name only a few, were overflowing with them. This at last was the country where the Russian and Ukrainian Jew could breathe freely and settle down to business. As national passports were only a matter of expediency for them, and the laws governing naturalization were simple, their co-religionists were able to help them into whatever professions they wished, and what was more natural than for them to choose their usual profession—that of middlemen, more especially as Germany offered them an even wider scope than Russia.

Soviet Russia being an ally of Rapallo Germany, and their relatives holding important positions in the Soviet Government, what could be more natural than that all transactions, credit negotiations, orders, etc., between Germany and Russia should pass through their hands? They made fortunes overnight. When the inflation came they were lucky again, for they held quantities of foreign *valuta*. With their natural flair for finance, they foresaw all fluctuations in exchange and knew what and where to buy. If they were short of funds, they could always borrow from relatives abroad. These owners of foreign

currency, who believed in getting everything for nothing, were the bosses when the German middle class was ruined overnight. Money, which had been their ideal for centuries, poured into their pockets in a steady stream. How proud they were, and how happy, and how they boasted! Every dollar went with a bang, to use their own expression.

I knew a poor Ukrainian Jew who had come and settled in Germany in the manner described, and with a couple of thousand dollars borrowed from his American relatives he bought seventeen enormous mansions in the Kurfürstendamm, the Carlton House Terrace of Berlin. And this man was no exception. Bejewelled, noisy, aggressive, secure in their belief that their kingdom would have no end, they grew boisterous and cynical. In the restaurants they stuffed themselves with caviare and vintage wines till all hours of the morning, 'all for just a few dollars,' as a radiantly happy Jew told me once. And in the meantime the German middle class and the remnants of the aristocracy with tightened lips sold everything they had for almost nothing to keep their families from starvation.

The German Jews, with whom I discussed the situation, warning them that a national awakening of Germany, of its middle classes, would be extreme, and that a day of reckoning was bound to come, only laughed at me and my advice to disassociate themselves from the noisy unpleasant crowd of Eastern new-comers. They were so certain that the domination of the dollar would always keep them in power. Cinemas, Press, theatres, restaurants, all were at their disposal; women, money, wine were there for their consumption after centuries of misery and oppression.

The Soviet Government, true to its creed, could not miss any opportunity for helping on the work of World Revolution. By giving contracts and enormous profits to the Russian and Ukrainian Jews in Germany for which Moscow demanded the *quid pro quo* of unquestioning obedience, it made these Jews into conscious or unconscious tools of the Third International.

I know that it is usually considered bad form to speak against the Jews, even if one is stating true facts. It may be labelled as anti-Semitism, an unpardonable sin. But everything is taken too much for granted. If you are an anti-Bolshevik, you are labelled Fascist; I am certain that if—God forbid!—a General Strike were to break out in this country like in 1926, all those who opposed it in the name of law and order would also be labelled Fascists, a misnomer that would be accepted by many. A few slogans and shibboleths would direct red-hot

passions into the desired channels. Capital can easily be made of the emotional ignorance of the masses. But to end this painful subject, I would like to draw a parallel between the persecution of Jews in Hitler Germany and Soviet Russia, and the persecution of us emigrants by the Soviet régime, a parallel which I believe to be quite fair.

The aristocracy or, to speak more broadly, what the Bolsheviks call the *bourgeoisie*, were declared to be pariahs—*lishentzi*, to use their own word. My own case was a typical one: my mother and brothers were shot, my property confiscated; if I had children in Soviet Russia they would either be destroyed or, if this did not happen, they would not have the right to go to school or serve under the Government. As I have already explained, all schools, all work, is under the Government—nothing exists but the State. Those of us who managed to escape abroad with our lives were lucky, but the few exceptions, those who bowed down to the Soviets and were used by them as 'experts,' sooner or later suffered a no better fate than ours, for when they were no longer useful they were imprisoned as scapegoats and put up for trial under framed-up lawsuits. And in these lawsuits no laws were drastic enough in dealing with the *bourgeoisie*, for the laws were the weapons of class warfare.

Now for the case of the Jew in Hitler Germany. Those who had come into Germany during the Weimar period, who had become naturalized for business reasons, and who had distinguished themselves by plundering the country, were ordered to leave when the Tiers État under Hitler came to power because the examination of their naturalization-papers proved that 80 per cent of these were not in order. As for the German Jews, those who had been German subjects for decades, strict laws were applied to them. In the first place, they were dismissed from Government service on 1 January 1935. Their salaries were paid to them in full till the age of sixty-five, after which they received a pension. In universities the Numerus Clausus again came into force, so that their entry into the Liberal Professions was restricted; but even so, under the Hitler régime to-day thousands of Jewish doctors and lawyers are practising unhindered. Besides, there *is* nothing to hinder such doctors and lawyers practising among other Jews.

In Germany to-day there are still close on half a million Jews, and all synagogues have not been closed. We know that in Russia churches were closed and priests massacred by the thousand, and belief in God was sufficient ground for being

dismissed from Government service. Whoever was proved to believe in God was put on the Black List, and this brought in its train dismissal, suspicion, exile. In Germany the Jews can have their own restaurants, and not all non-Jew restaurants are closed to them. Can you imagine restaurants of the former *bourgeoisie* being allowed to open in Soviet Russia? The Jews in Germany have their own Jewish newspapers: can you imagine us publishing our own papers unmolested in Soviet Russia? And this practise is not accidental—it is sanctioned by the laws of Hitler Germany.

Whatever we may think of German laws, or however ridiculous they may appear to us, there is one thing that must be remembered: the Germans uphold their laws, whatever they may be, and offenders against them are punished, to whatever side they may belong. Here you may ask, what about the material side? And here again the position is completely different from ours under the Soviet régime. A Jew is permitted to leave Germany if he wishes. It is not to be wondered at if he does, not so much because of the restrictions imposed on him, as because he has to suffer unbearable humiliations and contempt, a natural reaction against the days not long past. Were I a Jew and unable to run out of Germany, I would crawl away. For the Germans make no secret of not wanting the Jews.

A Jew leaving Germany may be compared to a guest being told to leave the house by his host. Once he has declared his intention to leave the country for good, he is required to pay a *Reichsflucht-Steuer*. This tax was introduced under the Weimar Government when conditions in Germany became so unbearable that much German capital fled abroad. In order to compensate the Treasury for the loss of taxes this caused the Government introduced a levy on capital leaving the country for good equal to 25 per cent of the whole. When Hitler came to power and Jewish capital fled abroad it also had to pay this 25 per cent levy to the Treasury.

When a Jew leaves the country, the Reichsbank allows him *de jure* to take one-third of his capital out of the country in foreign currency, but to obtain this he has to wait his turn, as the foreign currency problem is very acute, its lack being largely due to the world-wide Jewish boycott of Hitler Germany. The remainder of his capital he may invest in shares and debentures inside Germany, the interest being paid to his account in Germany. Usually, however, he manages to get rid of that money for about one-half its value. In this way, therefore, the Jew can leave Germany with half or a third of

his capital intact. How does that compare with the Soviet rules, did they give us those facilities? No; they confiscated all our property, all our rights, and did their best to destroy our lives as well. Did the Soviets continue to pay me my salary, or consider that a pension was due to me? The very thought appears ridiculous.

The small percentage of German Jews who fought in the War have been allowed to keep all rights of German citizenship and I know of many who were able to leave Germany with millions of pounds of capital, openly and according to the laws of Hitler Germany. Others, who had sensed the coming storm, wound up their businesses long before Hitler came to power and quietly slipped away, taking their money with them and leaving their property mortgaged to the hilt and servants' salaries unpaid for months before their departure.

All the Jews leaving Germany were welcomed with open arms by other Jews all over the world. Committees were formed for their help and millions of pounds collected for them. They were offered situations on the pretext that the countries to which they came had need of experts and specialists. The following is in my opinion a typical case:

In the house where I was living in Berlin a Russian Jew was living, who had settled in Germany under the Weimar régime. He had left Russia without a *sou*, became a naturalized German and entered the retail trade. In a few years he was making plenty of money, which interested him more than politics. When Hitler came to power, certain 'inexactitudes' were discovered in his naturalization papers, and they were cancelled. Here it must be pointed out that before Hitler's days it was extremely difficult to be naturalized in Germany, because the permission of every Federated State was needed: one refusal made it impossible. Yet thousands of Jews succeeded. This particular man had knowledge of the developments ahead and so took his precautions. When I asked him how he intended to make a living after leaving Hitler Germany, he frankly told me that six months earlier he had sent his mother to Paris with all his capital, while he himself stayed on in Germany.

"I have to settle the business of the furniture I am ordering for Palestine," he explained, "and want to sell my car here."

I was puzzled. "Do you mean to say you are ordering furniture here?"

"Yes, for my ten-roomed house in Palestine. Oak furniture," he added.

"But how is that possible?" I asked. "Furniture here is

not cheap, and to transport oak furniture to Palestine will be terribly expensive. The transport alone will cost a fortune."

"Yes," was the reply. "But I don't pay for that. You see, I am a 'victim' of the Hitler régime, so everything is paid by the Jewish Relief Societies."

"And what about your children?" I asked, thinking of his two nice boys.

"Oh, they are gone, and are happy in their school in Athens," and he told me the name of the school, which was a very expensive American one for the children of rich parents.

"But this education must cost you a fortune!"

"Yes—but I don't pay the expenses: they are paid by the Jewish Relief Committee."

"And when you settle in Palestine, what do you intend to do? Grow oranges?"

"No," came the answer, "I am building my ten-roomed house there, I will furnish it, and live there for a few years. Then I will probably leave and open up a business in the Argentine."

"But why in a few years?"

"The house in Palestine," he explained, "was only half-bought with my money; the rest of the capital was put up by the Jewish Relief. So we will stay there for a couple of years, sell the house, and go to the Argentine."

Not a bad proposition, I thought to myself, and continued my questions. "I suppose you will go to Palestine by way of Trieste? From there it takes ten days, and it will take you two days to get to Trieste from here."

"Oh, no," was the answer. "First I am going to visit my mother in Paris, then I will go on to Rome and stay with my brother. He is an important financier in a Fascisti bank," he added proudly.

'Poor refugee!' I thought when I heard the tale, which was by no means an exceptional one. They made money, even out of persecution—but did anyone ever help us when we were trying to save our lives and came to Europe or elsewhere after losing everything? No, a thousand times no! Why should they? They probably considered that we 'deserved it all.' But not only we suffered like this, I know of dozens of Englishmen who had made their livings in pre-War Russia and then, their property having been confiscated, they had to flee for their lives. Many of them who were professors or teachers in pre-War Russian schools are now driving taxis in London, while the German Jewish professor, doctor, or

scientist receives help and is now in good positions in England or the Colonies.

The truth of the matter is that while a Jew holding a passport of a democratic country enjoys all the privileges that such a passport can bestow, at the same time enjoys the privileges of belonging to the international race of Jews. A British subject is protected by His Majesty's Consul wherever he may be, but a Jew holding the same British passport is protected not only by H.M. Consul but by Jewry all the world over as well. Whether this is fair, remains to be seen.

I remember once speaking to a retired colonel in a London club. His schoolboy son had just gone to Spain for a holiday trip with a Jewish school-fellow. While they were there the Revolution broke out and as they knew hardly any Spanish they got into trouble and soon found themselves in gaol. With great difficulty they succeeded in letting their parents know what had happened, and the parents took steps to obtain their release through the British Consul. After only a few days the Jew was released as a result of the efforts of the local Jews, but the English boy lingered on for three months, when he managed to escape and only avoided the firing-squad because of the Consul's energetic interference.

So we can compare the two cases, that of our persecution in Soviet Russia with that of the Jews under Hitler. Yet the world is terrified of Hitler's brutality and nobody cares about us, or helps us, or provides jobs for us. On the contrary, we hear from all sides that the Soviets are progressing along the lines of peaceful evolution, that theirs is a freedom-loving régime, while we are the despicable pariahs. Even if we compare the position of our emigrants with that of the refugees from the French Revolution, we find that ours is the worse of the two. The French *bourgeoisie* which escaped the guillotine settled in countries where the standard of culture in the majority of cases was lower than in the France of those days, and they could therefore easily find work, whilst in our case the contrary is true: we are emigrants from a country with a lower standard than the rest of Europe and therefore competition is deplorably difficult.

In the book, *The Agony of Dreyfus*, there is a passage which says that his agony 'was an agony without precedent in modern history.' If we look at that in the light of what is now happening in Russia and Spain, what conclusion must we arrive at? Dreyfus lived till 1935, that is to say thirty-six years after the unprecedented agony was over he attained the age of seventy-six. But how many of us on whom the Soviet

Red Experiment was carried out will live to that age? It looks as though there were two measures for our days—one for the Jew, one for the non-Jew! Indeed, after reading that book one is forced to the conclusion that everything is explained by the saying: 'Each country deserves the Jews it has.'

The moral, if there is one, seems to be that all the events which I have studied in such detail appear to repeat themselves with strange similarity in all the countries which have been either defeated in war or disorganized by revolution. When I visited Austria in 1919 I found the formerly hospitable and gay capital full of people on the verge of starvation. The débâcle was complete. There were the same figures at the helm, the same worried and distressed expressions on the faces of the middle class and former upper class, the same luxury in restaurants, the same perversion in night life.

In Italy, an economically poor country, the effects of war were perhaps less apparent, because Italy still looked upon herself as a victorious country. But, alas, even there the War had left its mark in the disruption of the upper classes, the bankruptcy of the middle classes, even though perhaps in a lesser degree than was the case in Germany and other defeated countries. That was the general impression I got in the towns in those pre-Mussolini days. But when I visited remote townlets and villages, I saw everywhere in the huts of peasants and proletarians the Hammer and Sickle hanging next to portraits of Lenin and Trotsky, and masses of cheap literature which had been distributed among the people, literature full of promises to the 'oppressed classes' and eulogies of the Soviet Paradise.

The peasants in rural districts were bankrupt—not because they had nothing to eat, but because of the increasing disproportion between the value of money and the price of food, which latter had been taken from them by decrees in order to egg on the proletarian revolution. For this food they had received less than half its value, so that the business men of the Revolution could make huge profits. When the prices had been fixed consumers were separated from the producers by a long chain of middlemen who had arisen out of the chaos. To make matters worse the paper money was continually fluctuating, making things intolerable for the classes depending on a stable, limited income: the middle classes, both rural and urban.

In the Germany of those days the Government printing presses, even working in three eight-hour shifts, could not satisfy the demands of inflation, so that private concerns had

to come to the rescue, and municipalities printed their own money.

So the wheel of 'proletarization' and pauperization of the masses was continually turning, always involving new strata of the population in the disaster for the benefit of a few outsiders. An Englishman who was discussing these cases was a hundred times right when he said that the difference between England and Soviet Russia was that in Russia they try to enforce equality by levelling down everybody to the level of the poorest, while in England we try to achieve it by raising the lower levels up to the higher.

With regard to political and Extremist propaganda, this was strangely similar in all countries; the approach was similar and often the result. But what it was, and what was the reaction it brought in its train, we shall discuss in the next chapter.

V

MUDDLEDOM IN EUROPE : TRADITION *v.* EXTREMISM

THE DESTRUCTIVE FORCES OF Extremism working for World Revolution are invariably directed along the line of least resistance, and the leaders with their friends and associates in other countries spare neither effort nor expense to discover where this line lies and what are its social, economic, political, and psychological features. Armed with this knowledge they can then carry out simultaneous attacks along the entire enemy front, and in their view all that is not Communist and Marxist constitutes this enemy front. In this attack the two outstanding assets of the Red leaders are : first, the complete ignorance on the part of their enemies, and second, their complete lack of organization. On the Red Front there is a definite plan, systematic work and unity of aim and thought ; on the other there are disorganization, ignorance, primitive and unco-ordinated methods. The Red Front is backed up by the riches of one-sixth of the globe and it has at its disposal 160 million slaves working for the collapse of the remaining five-sixths, while in the remainder there are disunity, petty squabbles, and individual efforts without any constructive plans. I do not wish to say that all the evils and defects of our days should be put at the door of World Revolution, but I do believe that every evil or defect is utilized by the Red leaders in order to insinuate the thin end of their wedge and then, once the desired *tabula rasa* has been attained, to build up a Utopian system of society in its place.

This state of affairs might be best compared to a strong army under an efficient general staff on the one side, and on the other a haphazard collection of people firmly convinced that the advancing army is a mirage in the minds of nervous politicians. They allow themselves to be drilled into a sense of false security by tales of the wonderful democratic development of the ' other side ' and by accounts of the lessons that can be learnt from them for the benefit of future humanity. Weak spots such as these are continually being stormed by the Utopian enemy by economic, political, social, educational, or psychological methods.

The first objective in this struggle were the so-called 'defeated' countries. Then, when their controlling centres were effectively destroyed and the countries were in the desired state of desperation, they would be presented with a detailed plan of a future world peace within the confines of a Soviet World State. Attractive slogans and shibboleths are and always have been produced on such occasions for the benefit of those who are being driven towards the precipice of distress and depression, whether they be individuals, groups, or whole nations. First they are presented as mere subjects for discussion, but by continued application they are finally subconsciously accepted as truths.

It is an unfortunate fact that among the defeated nations and classes the 'have-nots' are in a majority. A typical example in Europe is that of the Minorities. This group is by no means negligible, for it amounts to some forty million people, and if one adds to these Minorities the defeated areas of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and the Balkans, a distressingly large and threatening problem arises. These Minorities are the direct result of cutting up Europe by means of the Treaty of Versailles and others. They were placed under foreign rule, and in many cases form an imposing majority in the territories inhabited by them. In many cases also their territories are in close proximity to those forming part of the reservoir of World Revolution—Soviet Russia. Strategically speaking they form a long and threatening wedge approximately at the centre of Eastern Europe as far as Hungary, and from there they tend westwards, forming isolated groups, like the advance guard of an army in the midst of the defeated and the Have-Nots of post-War Europe. Once these Minorities had been placed under the indiscriminate rule of foreign powers their hopes were raised by solemn promises of autonomy and fair treatment under the arbitration of the League of Nations, a supposedly unbiased court—but in which the predominant and decisive voice was the voice of the country that had annexed them. In the same way the hopes of the defeated states were raised by promising the discussion of a revision of frontiers according to Paragraph 19 of the Covenant, which would correct the results of the too hasty repartition of Europe by the Great Powers.

Another point which must not be forgotten is that the Minorities were placed under the domination of those states which they had oppressed in pre-War days, with the result that the ruling states now applied to their new dependents all the forms of oppression which they themselves had previously

suffered. This oppression mainly took the form of denationalization, which caused ever increasing desperation and bitterness amongst the Minorities. A typical example of this is Poland, where the national Minorities form one-third of the State.

This large proportion of Poland obviously presented a fertile forcing-ground for the seeds of World Revolution, and in the same way as the Moscow leaders proclaimed themselves the protectors of the 'oppressed Colonial peoples' they now declared their intention of protecting these oppressed Minorities. Moscow considered itself entitled to use the weapon of self-determination as well as the right of complete secession from the country of incorporation, as this was one of the principles laid down by Lenin as long ago as the Cracow Revolutionary Congress of 1913. Was not Moscow entitled to proclaim all these rights—on paper—and embody them in the attractive form of new Soviet Constitutions which grant non-Russian nations the right to leave the Union by means of a simple declaration? The policy applied in Soviet territories was however the exact opposite: complete extermination and subjugation are being carried out by the OGPU and the Red Army by a system of famine and exile. But who cared about that in Europe? Certainly not those nations who had started by proclaiming the rights of self-determination and had then gone on to the subjugation of forty million Minorities. The treatment was perhaps less drastic, but none the less unjust, for they were handed over as negligible quantities to the care of other nations. Poland, for instance, is carrying on a denationalization policy amongst her Minorities with religious, social, and economic persecution. But realizing that some of these same nations occupy enormous territories under the Soviets she comes to a tacit agreement with Moscow with a view to annihilating them on both sides of the frontier. The Ukrainian example is a case in point, but I will discuss this later.

It is interesting to note that in the countries where the middle class had originally been strong, but had temporarily lapsed into a state of stupor owing to deflation, terror, and economic pressure, the Moscow leaders concentrated their propaganda on the line of least resistance, i.e., the Intelligentsia on the one hand, the lowest social strata on the other. This policy was carried out first in the defeated countries, then in the victorious as well. What was the method of approach and the success achieved, I will now explain.

I will again take Germany as an outstanding example, as she has passed through every stage of the vicious circle. The

work carried on here by the World Revolutionaries of Moscow differs in minor details, for it is always adapted to the conditions in that and other countries.

Let us first deal with its application to the Upper Set, to the schools, to art. Here Extremism was first directed against religion, thus bringing sexual laxity in its train ; it spread to music, painting, journalism, in fact to every form of spiritual expression. But it had to be disguised under the veil of fashion, it had to be a 'sign of the times,' or a proof of 'genuine progress,' and presented at an ever increasing speed so that it was accepted before people had time to realize its foulness. All that was opposed to it had to be scorned as reactionary, as old-fashioned.

In this process of acceleration modern technology came to the rescue with its capacity for falsifying reality and producing something that could be labelled 'modern' or 'unique.' Actually much that was represented as modern for purposes of propaganda was nothing more nor less than a return to the primitive at a time when the Classical, which needed thought and understanding, no longer appealed. Under this process of acceleration there was no time for thought : Tempo was the watchword. Noise, acceleration, rush, anything to extinguish reason, to put emotional before genuine knowledge.

I would often ponder over this when I heard the Radio thundering out its Jazz, switched on by Highbrows who did not even listen to it, only accepting it subconsciously because 'It makes life,' as they would say. The true explanation seemed to me to lie in the instinctive dislike of being alone, of thinking and pondering over things. Headlines and emotional thrillers were all that was wanted, and speed above all—anything to prevent rest and thought.

To-day it is necessary to anæsthetize brains *en masse*. Why think of the future ? We are living materially and to-morrow we will disappear materially—so why trouble ? It is boring, and it takes time to ponder on culture, civilization, spiritual achievements ; it is boring to prepare to sacrifice oneself for an ideal which cannot bring satisfaction here and now. So everyone launched forth into Modernism, into the Bacchanalian dance of Futurism, Supernaturalism, Expressionism. The approach was, after all, so easy.

If, on the stage, it was the custom for actors to enter through the door, then let them come in through the windows or, better still, the ceiling. Instead of people kissing in private, let it be made public, and standardized, so that it no longer

depends on individual initiative; let strip-tease acts be arranged—anything to save people the trouble of thinking. If a man took a brush and painted a picture, he did not need to trouble about art; he only needed to get the Press to praise him and his reputation was made. And the money in the hands of the *nouveaux riches*, no matter whether it was made by revolutions, murders, or white-slave traffic, all that mattered was that it should pay for such art. And criticism against such art would be a sin against Modernism—what could be more serious than that? Then the servile Press would suddenly discover that this or that new school of painting recalled the Pre-Raphaelites and everyone would be yet more amazed, no one would dream of contradicting, or of asking whether art had not advanced since those days.

It all goes to show that we live on slogans and emotional ignorance, that we are nothing but savages living in modern skyscrapers. I personally may be a stick-in-the-mud, but I prefer a picturesque savage in a jungle. A whole tribe of them can be destroyed by giving them a machine-gun to play with, and only showing them how the trigger works. Sex appeal and all that belongs to it has also been turned into capital for Extremism. Looseness and perversion are fostered, while sex-appeal is often turned into cheque-appeal. Their usual forms did not suffice, for they were too normal and humdrum for these unbalanced minds and unhealthy bodies. This was perhaps not alone the result of propaganda, but of the absence of normal conditions during the dreary years of war, when the most honest and the soundest were killed, leaving only the weaklings to enjoy the fruits of victory or defeat.

Music was made to appeal to the worst form of sexualism, and negro songs of centuries of slavery became part and parcel of the game. From the dawn of humanity dancing has been a form of physical attraction, but then they were the dances of gods and heroes, of beautiful women. But what did they know of this who shut themselves in behind the curtains of smoky cabaret life? Crude variety was in their eyes the highest stage of perfection. A Russian *émigré*, a good old-fashioned merchant, was once taken to a Paris night club to see the most modern Tango. When asked his opinion he replied: "I've been married thirty years, and I've been tight many times—but I didn't know it was called 'Tango'!"

What these degraded degenerates could not achieve by natural impulses must, they believed, be fostered by drugs.

Not to have tried cocaine, heroin, or opium meant that one had neglected one's education. White-slave traffic and gigolos appeared on the nation's body like the rash of a disease and amateurs spoiled the business of the professional prostitutes.

The leaders of World Revolutionary Progress did not, however, only apply stimulants, but anæsthetics as well, especially in the case of victims who still had some sense of decency left and who did not look on life as purely materialistic, as a space that had to be filled with the maximum of pleasures. For these it might be necessary to use the bait of money, sex, or ambition and in any case they had to be blackmailed in order to keep them silent. For this end the Press had to be controlled so that it could be directed against any who dared open their mouths. It had either to agree and get what it could out of the campaign, or else be ostracized and completely ruined. Films and wireless were also exploited by means of money and made to uphold free love and sexual perversity, and also to ridicule pregnancy, thus wiping out all the barriers of decency and tradition and using the rot of the present generation as manure for the future Utopia.

Scientific and educational centres were then approached, first in the defeated countries, then, more subtly, in the victorious ones. In defeated Weimar Germany, hiking parties to the mountains were organized—in many cases by Extremist groups—either in couples or else in parties where the sexes were equally divided, and these, under the guidance of experienced leaders, followed the new cult of Nudism. The Press was coining money by publishing doubtful stories and libellous statements under a veil of hypocritical indignation, while theatres, radio, and cinema followed suit, always in agreement with the Revolutionary leaders who promised to provide the material and help them to make money in return for propaganda.

This policy can be seen in France to-day, which is obviously the next objective of Soviet experiments. Here no less a person than the Minister of Education is known to have stated that the Marseillaise is the most immoral and improper song and that it ought to be replaced by the Internationale. Last October he organized a Congress of French school teachers which was attended by close on 100,000, and they all solemnly refused to fight for France, no matter whether she were attacked or not.

The book of the day in modern France is one by the Prime Minister, Blum, on various aspects of love ; this is selling by

the hundred thousand and is being praised by the free Press of the world, both directly and indirectly. Indirectly, because it quotes the most doubtful passages in full. Theatres represent God in drunken orgies, cinemas follow suit with the hero worship of gangsterism. Newspapers publish long descriptions of murders and sex crimes and those that tell the hottest tales are the most read. The money-makers, or 'speculators' as they are enviously called, went hand in hand with that type of intelligentsia. Folk-songs and traditional dances had to be replaced by jerking jazz, while dress had to be modelled on strip-tease fashions.

After I had seen all this first in Russia, then in Continental Europe, I came to England and stayed with a very respectable country house-party. At dinner I was asked questions about what was going on outside God-fearing England, so I told them all I knew. When I had finished, an elderly lady asked me why the police allowed such things to go on in Russia and elsewhere. I was spell-bound at the question and could not again begin to explain the general trend of Bolshevism and its efforts to destroy all traditions in so-called civilized countries. In many cases I am glad to say that much of this boasting by young people was due to a form of bravado, to an attempt to appear highbrow, though in others it is a deeply ingrained creed, all the more dangerous because it is sub-conscious.

The flood of pornographic literature—often printed in one country and smuggled out into another—was followed by books on the new religion of world peace to be built up on the Utopia of Socialism, with Marxism as its philosophical basis and Sovietism as its State form. Soviet Russia was decked up for the semi-converts to come and see for themselves, with crèches, factories, ideal homes for workers, scientific laboratories, medical help for the poorest of the poor. It was made to appear a land of happiness, equality, and classless beatitude. Intourist roped in the visitors by the thousand. Everything was planned for their entertainment, even bear-shooting parties, though cynicism did not go so far as to organize the shooting of humans for their entertainment. Masses of left-wing clubs, or members of the Congress for Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R., rushed over and returned with descriptions of the marvellous paradise. They would invariably emphasize the fact that they were not Communists, indeed that they hated Communism, *but* these marvellous achievements would be impossible in a capitalist country.

Apparently no one ever thought of asking them why, if this

were all true, they were opposed to Communism and the happiness of mankind ! Duchesses, fat money-makers, clergymen, realizing that they were losing their hold over their constituents or parishioners, tried to pander to the modern trend by preaching that Communism was but the ideal form of primitive Christianity and that Lenin enforced what Christ had preached. This outlook is upheld by Diehards and members of the left wings alike. In Diehard editorials Soviet Russia was represented as the stabilizing conservative factor of modern Europe. 'When you sup with the Devil you need a long spoon,' Churchill said years ago when speaking of Soviet Russia. Then the only question was to find the right spoon and the right length, but now the spoon is being made shorter every day and we can see Diehard Churchill's efforts to find the spoon via France and the League Covenant.

What is being preached is not an alliance with Russia, but the establishment of a Popular Front. This comes to the same in the end because of the Franco-Soviet Pact ; besides, the League as it now stands is directed by the three Powers, Great Britain, France, and Soviet Russia, who will succeed in finding an aggressor when the need arises. In the mind of the Diehard it is all only a repetition of 1914 : France and Russia allied, and England in a kind of *entente* with them. Churchill goes out of his way to prove that Russia is becoming democratic and moderate, and leaves people to draw their own conclusions that it would be a not too unpleasant partner for a democratic England.

With regard to the lower strata, the leaders of World Revolution are seeking to achieve their objective by other methods of approach. They appeal to the down-and-outs, harp on the fact that they are being exploited, and try to persuade them that only brutal force, strikes, and revolution can change their misery into prosperity. If, however, one studies the life of the English landowner of a century ago one sees that he had none of the comforts and possibilities enjoyed by the poorest proletarian of to-day. This is due to the constructive progress of evolutionary England, but as far as I can see it is never emphasized anywhere. No money was or is spared in working up agitation among the down-and-outs : the democratic régime permits that much freedom. This agitation amounts to an open appeal to revolt and to seize property under the slogan 'Ownership is Theft' : you see a Rolls Royce, which belongs to the nation ; you are the nation, so go and take it ! Short, sweet, and appealing.

I remember that when Soviet Russia was preparing the

Red push into China, China was flooded with this kind of simplified propaganda for the illiterate, just a series of pictures. On the front page of a newspaper there was a picture of the Shanghai Main Bank, vividly represented as stuffed with huge blocks of gold. All this was said to belong to the Chinese nation and to have been robbed by Imperialist Europeans. These were represented by an armed, evil-looking officer, a rich banker drinking the victims' blood, and a priest holding the Bible to back them all up. The economics of a post-War world gave ample room for such simplified propaganda to be used for the benefit of the unemployed.

'The fish first rots at its head,' says the Ukrainian proverb, and the poison that began by infecting the highbrows soon spread to all other degrees of the Intelligentsia: Liberals, Pacifists, Idealists, they were all reached by means adapted to their various mentalities. Those who were not so ready to swallow propaganda wholesale were approached individually through their weakest point, so that they, too, came to be pawns in the Soviet game. They could have their choice of slogans and movements: The League Against Imperialism, Left-Wing Intellectual Movement, League of the Rights of Man, The Minority Movement, The Workers' International Relief, which promised help to the unemployed. Then there is also the National Unemployment Movement which, although it calls itself national, is led by international Revolutionaries who refuse to recognize national interests and national boundaries! The anti-War Movement tried to show that its members were the only ones who were genuinely opposed to war—though in fact they look for war as a means for attaining Communist Dictatorship! As somebody once put it, they promised this country a first-class economic crisis as a means for getting into power.

Last and not least is the League of Nations Union—like a roof without walls or foundations, consisting of National Conservative states which recognize national interests and traditions, but which suggests a super-national organization to interfere in other people's business. This has now been openly joined by the International Peace Movement, which makes no secret of being a branch of the Third International. Directly the leaders of World Revolution considered that the ground had been adequately prepared by the dislocation of all national and human values in the minds of scientists and idealists they crowned it all with a Congress of Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R., and the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Here I would like to quote a typical example illustrating the trend of events in those circles which sought to use Soviet Russia as a lever for their own Party purposes. In the days before it was considered advisable to come out into the open the formulas used were very vague so that they could be interpreted in various ways to suit individual cases. The case I am referring to here is the Resolution passed by the Annual Conference of the Labour Party as long ago as 1933 which ran as follows :

> 'That this Conference condemns all efforts to discredit the practise of Socialism in Russia, maintains that anti-Soviet activities have not ended with the lifting of the embargo on Soviet imports ; requests the National Government to enter into permanent Trade Treaty with the Soviet Union, with adequate credit facilities ; and instructs the National Executive Committee to establish such cordial relations with the Socialist rulers of Russia as ought to characterize two bodies professing a similar economic and social objective under different conditions, to encourage the regular interchange of ideas and to consolidate the basis of future understanding.'

As the formula developed it took on a more definite form until the leaders of the Labour groups suddenly realized that this co-operation, where all subversive means and facilities were on the one side—Russia—and on the other only a sort of Idealism, would end in gobbling up the Labour leaders themselves and sweep them out of existence. Therefore Sir Walter Citrine opened his eyes to what the position in the Soviet Paradise actually is. But on the other hand, certain groups inside the Labour Party which had been either hoodwinked or blackmailed into joining the ranks of Soviet friends, thus voluntarily or involuntarily becoming the medium for Soviet propaganda, went a step further in the desire to join with the Moscow front, and formed the United Front of Communists, Socialists, Co-operatives, Independent Labour Party, Liberal Opposition, Pacifists, and members of the League of Nations Union.

It is important to remember that the Second International (a world Socialist Organization), to which the great majority of Socialists belong, has formally and actually entered into an alliance with the Third International. Whatever minor differences of opinion on tactics may exist here, the main issue —Bolshevism as an ultimate aim—is accepted. It is an alliance of a weak partner with an all-consuming one, because the

Moscow promoters of World Revolution have one aim, one will, one creed, for the attainment of which they have at their disposal the unlimited natural wealth of one-sixth of the globe.

The Moscow leaders use as their chief weapon the policy of *Divide et Impera* when dealing with non-Communist states. Any issue will serve when they wish to bring in the thin end of the wedge in order to disorganize, demoralize, or subdue. The issue may be unemployment, or Church strife, or the Divorce Problem, or a Constitutional Crisis, or the Abyssinian War, or Japanese expansion in Manchukuo, or a Minority Movement, or Disarmament, or Intervention in Spain—no matter, the main thing is to seize on the controversy and foster it till it becomes an action undermining the non-Communist world.

Once the first goal, the disintegration of the enemy front, has been achieved, the leaders of Revolution make their last efforts to encircle and subdue the middle class, which owing to its opposition to revolution is the mainstay of the European countries. In this campaign economic ruin, distress, war, or any other useful issue is worked up and fostered. Here I must quote a talk I had with Hitler on the conditions then prevailing in Weimar Germany, at the time when the middle class was showing the first symptoms of awakening and the Germany of to-day was beginning to emerge from the ashes of that other, Extremist, Germany. The country as it then was was best described by a formula given me by a German professor on the eve of my departure for Munich, where I was going to collect facts for a series of articles on 'Present Day Germany' He said :

'In these days the words of the Lord's Prayer should run : "Give us this day our daily illusions." ' And it is a fact that the one desire of every German seemed to be 'Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die.'

On my first evening in Munich, not knowing how to pass the time, I asked the hall-porter's advice, and he, believing that all travelling foreigners had the same tastes, advised me to go to a certain cabaret. But I knew that all I would see there would be the same old story : obscene performances to the accompaniment of rivers of champagne and mountains of caviare for the new rich ; so I flatly refused to go, much to the porter's amazement. Then he advised me, if I really wanted something different, to go to the Circus Krone. As he would say no more, my curiosity was aroused and I went.

If I was expecting a circus performance I was doomed to disappointment, for although the immense dimly lit building

was filled to the last place, the ring was only taken up by a number of trestle tables and rough wooden benches. I quickly realized that the faces surrounding me here were very different from the faces I was used to in the streets and fashionable cabarets. I saw members of the former ruling class in well-cut but shabby clothes sitting side by side with workmen whose horny hands had begun to grow soft, suggesting unemployment. Men in shabby, patched uniforms were there, others in brown shirts with, as it seemed then, peculiar badges on their sleeves : the now well-known Swastika. Clerks, shopkeepers, workmen, aristocrats were sitting side by side chatting with each other, while their haggard eyes seemed continually searching for something, perhaps some lost truth. The air was heavy with the smoke of cheap cigarettes and the smell of warm beer that stood about in mugs on the tables. The more fortunate among the crowd were munching sandwiches they had brought from home and all were patiently waiting for the arrival of their leader, as I soon discovered. I succeeded in pushing myself forward to a place at one of the tables, next a working woman who was holding a tiny baby in her arms. As I saw the child clumsily groping for the mother's hardly noticeable breast, I expostulated with her for bringing it here, to such an atmosphere. At first she was unwilling to speak, but her feelings soon got the better of her and she explained that her fool of a husband was out of work and did nothing but grumble.

'He says there is no hope for us, we must all perish—and no one cares but the Jews, because they take everything we managed to save. He is such a fool, he doesn't see that Hitler will save us, that he will save the whole world from plague ! He says if I want to go to a meeting, I can take the child with me, it will never live anyhow.'

Before I could reply to this tirade, I heard a sound of distant marching and cheering. Accompanied by the roll of drums, a torchlight procession was slowly moving into the Circus. Strange people, they seemed to me, with their waving red banners and Swastikas, and their grim, resolute faces on which trouble and suffering had left their marks. Soon the platform was full of them—all young people, their faces blazing with enthusiasm. What did they care for the shabby clothes of the audience ! They had other ideals. Suddenly the picturesque crowd on the platform divided, and a pale man with a wide shock of hair stepped forward.

'Silence ! ' he called. 'Your Leader has a sore throat and he therefore asks you not to smoke ! '

The order rang out like an electric shock, and as though by magic all cigarettes and pipes disappeared.

'Heil Hitler!' the crowd shouted on all sides while drums rolled, drumming hope and resolution into the strange body of people who were waiting. Then, surrounded by his bodyguard, the Führer spoke, while outside a cordon of pickets protected the hall from intrusion by the Red scum flooding that other Germany.

He spoke abruptly, definitely, hopefully. He spoke of his enemies with hatred, but of his people and his beloved Germany he spoke with endless love. He spoke of their lost hopes, denouncing the Red Plague and all it stood for. He poured scorn on the Jews, an international plague he called them. He spoke of Moscow's anti-God and anti-man régime, and called for belief in God and sacrifice for Germany. He called for a return to the family, for the sanctity of womanhood, and spoke of the coming of the Third Reich as an absolute certainty. In order to attain this he demanded unreserved discipline and sacrifice for the general cause. He ended by denouncing the immoral greed of the Versailles Treaty. He promised to throw off its shackles and to give food, work, and opportunity to all equally, for he said unemployment was the root of ruin and demoralization. The keynote of success was National Revival!

His abrupt, picturesque way of putting his case appealed to me. All that he said could have been expressed in a few minutes; but he had been going on for over an hour, reiterating his points and using new comparisons till his audience, absolutely spellbound, gradually seemed to grow into one united whole. Had he not been expressing all that was already subconsciously dawning in their hearts?

While he was speaking, well-discipline S.S. men were taking the collection (S.S. or Schutzstaffel, corps of guards). Coins poured into the plates, for the people were only too willing to give all they had for him who was going to save Germany.

Meanwhile the torchlight procession was forming up again and cries of Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil! reverberated through the hall. I pushed my way forward, but it was not easy to get near Hitler, surrounded as he was by his bodyguard. At length I succeeded in getting near his assistant, to whom I expressed my admiration of their enthusiasm in my broken German, and asked if I could meet the Führer. In reply, he scribbled an address on a scrap of newspaper and asked me to come and see them next day. When I returned to my hotel I could not help

comparing the sophisticated international mob that surrounded me there with the enthusiastic crowd of which I had just formed part, and the conviction grew on me that if Germany was to be saved, her salvation would come from those strange people.

Next morning, before going to call at the address noted on my scrap of paper, I telephoned to ask General Ludendorff for an interview. The General himself replied in a rudely abrupt voice :

' I never see, and do not wish to see, foreigners ! '

So much for that, I thought, as I set off to find the other address. The Headquarters of the N.S.D.A.P., or National-Socialist Workmen's Party of Germany, was at the very top of a shabby old house. When I saw the small flat which housed it, a doubt flashed through my mind : was it possible that the roomful of starved-looking faces was the true Mecca of the new Germany ? But it was not long before the obvious resolution and enthusiasm brought back to me the same sensations that yesterday's meeting had evoked. It was something more than mere surface emotion, as I think I was in a position to judge after having passed through the Russian Revolution, where I had learnt to discriminate between the true and the false.

The room was bare except for a table covered with newspaper cuttings and a few chairs. A vigorous, brown-shirted young man at the table stared at me as though he thought me something of a joke. I learned later that his name was Hess, a name destined to become well known before very long. Presently Hitler entered, but the impression he gave was different from that of the previous evening : he seemed humbler, gentler, and even rather shy, as though he realized that people thought him mad. But when he began to discuss world problems, especially as far as Germany was concerned, his eyes began to blaze with enthusiasm. He spoke of Europe as a great family, where struggle and war between nations would mean ruin for all. If European civilization is to be preserved, all countries must be united and there must be a European hegemony throughout the world. He regarded the family as the nucleus of civilization and spoke of the sanctity of motherhood, of the disintegration wrought by the Reds and their Jewish associates, in whose minds money was the one and only aim. Jews are a race, not a nation ; but if race and nation are to play a constructive part they must be one and indivisible in the struggle for peace and progress. The national revival of a nation must be based on its history and tradition, and only in this way can the Red germ of Marxism be overcome. The

Church he regarded as a political body with only a few remnants of true religion and he therefore considered that Church and State should be divided, so that each could deal with its own problems independently of the other. Above all, he considered it the sacred duty of every citizen to live, work, and die for the State, which stands above everything. The unity of a nation is the ultimate aim, and without it no national revival is possible. He believed in class co-operation, not in class warfare. Europe must be united against the Red danger, and the Versailles Treaty, main cause of disunity, must go overboard with all that belongs to it.

When he had left, I asked one of the young men why they called themselves National-Socialists, which sounded rather like a contradiction in terms. Smiling indulgently, he explained:

'We are Socialists because we are opposed to Reaction, and we are Nationalists because we disapprove of Communism.'

Then I went on to ask him about the Jews, whether they always blamed them for whatever went wrong. This seemed to annoy him and he explained that the international Red intrigue that was sapping Germany's life blood was backed by the Jews.

'You will probably say that there are good as well as bad Jews—but why then do the good Jews always back up the bad ones? You know as well as I do that they are racial, not national. This may mean their strength, but it also will mean their ultimate downfall, for they are no more than the hostages of the States within which they live and carry on their work—and as hostages they can be dealt with accordingly. It is a system that they invented themselves in Russia, so now we are only using their own methods against them. Up to now, if we had a brawl with the Communists and some of our people were wounded, they could not go to hospital because most of the doctors are Jews and they report us to the police, who are also in the hands of the Socialists. So we are sent to prison instead,' he concluded bitterly.

As I left the 'Headquarters,' I thought in my Liberal mind that these excesses would soon calm down, but, if Germany was going to be saved, it would be by means of Hitler's enthusiasts who were ready to sacrifice all for their country. . . .

But to come back to the matter of the brotherhood of the Reds and the 'Pinks,' these latter should remember for their own sakes that, if the Revolution comes and whatever form it may take, it will be they, the pink idealist forerunners, who will be disposed of first. During the preparatory work the

Extremist leaders have every opportunity of discovering their weakness and unreliability, so that once they are firmly established in power, the first thing they do is to get rid of these pink henchmen. In order to save their precious lives, these Pinks take refuge in happier, more freedom-loving countries—and there they start the whole cycle from the beginning once more by preparing the ground for World Revolution. They are the prophets of a cause which, when it succeeds, turns against them.

This has happened in all revolutions, including the great French one of 1789, or the Russian Revolution of 1917, that is to say in countries where the preliminary work of spreading Communism by direct action was not simple. The Bolsheviks there make an intensive study of local conditions and the environments in which their ultimate aim is to be achieved, and then their first step is to insinuate themselves into any Anti-Bolshevik organization which may have been formed as a reaction against the spreading of Communist propaganda. Once they and their agents are firmly established within such organizations, it is a simple matter to get to work and disorganize them from within. It is even known that such anti-Bolshevik organizations have actually been formed at the instigation of Moscow on the principle that any individual has his point of attack and cannot stand up against the immense resources and the experience which are brought to bear against him. These efforts on the part of Moscow have proved most successful, especially in the last two or three years when the leaders of the Third International realized that their efforts in Europe called forth counter-efforts, for it was these counter-efforts that provided a concrete objective on which they could concentrate.

A typical illustration of this policy is the work of the White Russians in non-Communist States, to which I have already referred elsewhere. These White Russians fled from the Bolsheviks on the outbreak of the Revolution, and settled as refugees in other countries. We Ukrainians, with our century-old traditions of Conservatism, have all along taken up an uncompromising attitude towards Bolshevism and all directly or indirectly connected with it, but we have also refused to associate ourselves with any work of the White Russians, because in the past they organized attacks against us and worked against our movement for an independent and Conservative Ukraine.

As soon as Red Moscow realized that the Ukraine was the one and only constructive counter-check to the programme of

World Revolution it used the various Left Wing organizations in this and other countries to form committees purporting to work for an Independent Ukraine, hoping by this means to make us play their game and accelerate the realization of their aims. These Left Wing allies of Moscow therefore formed committees calling themselves Anglo-Ukrainian, or Franco-Ukrainian, as the case might be. Ex-criminals who had been used for spreading Communism in the armies of these countries were then suddenly seen to turn round and become more Ukrainian than the Ukrainians themselves. Their first step was to make a vicious attack on Poland—where there are more than seven million Ukrainians—on the pretext of helping the oppressed Minorities.

Ever since the days of Versailles this 'Minority Movement' has been one of the favourite hobbies of Moscow's Left Wing allies, for it could always be regarded as a thin end of the wedge. It took the form of petitions to Parliament, to the League of Nations, all signed by prominent Moscow friends, and all demanding justice for the 'poor oppressed Ukrainians.' They demanded that Poland should grant autonomous rights to these minorities, demands which Poland solemnly promised the Great Powers would be fulfilled, and then never carried out. Never a word was said about the persecution of the Ukrainians inside the Soviet Union, because, as the petitioners were anxious to explain, they were English, or French, and so could not interfere in Soviet affairs; they were only entitled to do so on behalf of the Minorities in Poland in accordance with their signatures given to the Minority Protection Agreement.

It was no more than a tactical move in the game to make Poland the target of such attacks, because by means of attracting general attention to the persecution of Ukrainians in Galicia and Volhynia, the impression was given that the Ukrainians in Russia were living in a state of complete happiness. Even the Ukrainians in Galicia were convinced of the truth of these tactics and enthusiastically supported the Soviet anti-Polish policy by betaking themselves across the frontier into the Soviet Ukraine where they were quickly disposed of by firing-squads or by being exiled to the Arctic regions. Those foreigners who were really interested in the anti-Bolshevism of the Ukrainians were so disgusted by the pretended policy of protection by the Soviets that they lost all faith in any Ukrainian Movement and thought it was only some new Soviet stunt. So the British Conservatives turned their backs on their natural allies, the Conservative Ukrainians,



Photo by Lafayette Ltd

EARL BALDWIN OF BEWDLEY

because they did not wish their names to be on the same list of protectors as those of prominent Bolsheviks.

The second stage in the plot organized by these Moscow friends against the Ukrainians was to make it clear that Russia and Poland were interested in a common cause : the suppression of the Ukrainians, of whom there were 33 million in Russia, 7 million in Poland. Poland thus was perfectly justified in explaining to League inquiries that the signatures of the petitions proved that the whole Ukrainian problem was a Bolshevik trick, and that as Poland was the eastern barrier against the invasion of Europe by Bolshevism, it was her duty to suppress any Bolshevik activities within her frontiers—including, of course, the Soviet-Ukrainian affair. To this the Great Powers at once agreed, so the bogus pro-Ukrainian organizations scored a hit at both enemies simultaneously : the Ukrainians in Soviet Russia and those in Poland.

When the Soviets began their persecution of the Ukrainians by means of terror, exile, and starvation, it was not long before Western Europe came to know all about the campaign of murder, and therefore the bogus organizations began to explain that the starvation was due to the bad harvest all over Russia on the one hand, and to sabotage and laziness on the part of the Ukrainians on the other. As this slander was not believed they had to change their tactics again and began collecting funds for food parcels for the Ukrainians in Russia. By this means they tried to control all anti-Soviet Ukrainian activities abroad, for numbers of Ukrainians were persuaded to support the sending of parcels, even although they were in the unpleasant position of not knowing who were their friends in this connection. The parcels committee, which had first denied the existence of famine, then had asserted that famine was due to sabotage, called itself a 'Russian Committee' in the deliberate effort to prove that the Ukraine is part of Russia and that famine was not part of Soviet policy. Yet in spite of all these efforts the genuine Ukrainians did not fall into the subtly baited trap and continued to ignore the committee.

Then Moscow began a new policy with a view to alienating European sympathy from the Ukraine and to winning over the Ukrainians to the side of the Soviets. A rumour was spread that the Ukraine was being threatened by Hitler's Imperialist plans, and that therefore all Ukrainians who believed in the national anti-Bolshevik revival of Germany should turn against Germany. When they refused to do this the *Pravda*

started a campaign against them, labelling them agents of Hitler Germany—a campaign that was immediately taken up by all bogus organizations abroad. Even although this policy did not have the desired effect, the slander was repeated *ad nauseam* by all foreign newspapers under the influence of the friends of Moscow, whether Conservative, Liberal, or Socialist. At the same time attacks against the true leaders were broadcast from Moscow in all languages and bogus lawsuits were organized in the Soviet Ukraine, where the defendants confessed the truth of the reports that had been spread. This, too, was ignored by the Ukrainians.

Then the Soviets adopted one of their favourite methods. It was at the time when Western Europe was in the throes of recognizing Russia, and papers all over the world were discussing the policy of moderation then in progress. Moscow therefore took the opportunity and demanded through these bogus organizations that an impartial commission be sent to Russia; the Black Sea ports were opened and all foodstuffs needed by the population were imported. Obviously nobody went there and this trap was so well organized that the aim was achieved and the whole Ukrainian problem was shelved for the time being. The White Russians had joined in the campaign by supporting the idea of sending commissions to Russia. But to the honour of our Ukrainians it must be said that they avoided the trap, with the exception of a few individuals whose past might be described as doubtful. For how could anyone expect that Ukrainians, with their innate conservatism and their yeoman traditions, the exact antithesis of Bolshevism and all it stands for, could ever believe such tales! To join hands with the Devil in order to fight the Devil is not a policy—it is stupidity. How could we join with people with such obviously pro-Soviet tendencies, whose names appear in the lists of active friends of Soviet Russia, of United Popular Fronts, whether they are under the guise of the Second International, or formally and openly signed alliances with the Third International?

I have described the Ukrainian case in some detail as being typical, but the same kind of thing is happening in other matters with small variations under the guidance of Moscow, and other bogus anti-Bolshevik organizations are being fostered and promoted by the Soviets and their friends abroad. Fortunately for us Ukrainians we know too well what these Soviet methods are, whether they are connected with the attitude of Poland to Soviet Russia, or vice versa. Yesterday the attitude taken up was anti-Polish, to-day it is anti-Soviet,

and later these same protectors of Ukrainians in Poland will organize friendly meetings in London with the agents of Moscow and Warsaw while they try to make the innocents believe that they are opposed to each other. The 'Ukrainian' committees invite Soviet agents to lecture in London side by side with Polish agents—surely a pernicious proceeding, and I do not except the White Russian emigrants who joined in the Bolshevik game !

But let us return to the examination of the general trend of events which includes the true reaction to Extremism. The most constructive form of countering Extremism is the awakening of the middle classes, mainstay of the European countries. Where there is no urban middle class, its place must be taken by the agricultural population. The great French Revolution, and the revolt of the middle classes in post-War ruined Germany, are very enlightening in this respect. Even where the process of disintegration did not go far enough, the same forms and processes are yet noticeable in the revolt of the middle classes against Extremism, according to the national and social traditions of the country to which they belong.

In England, with her extraordinary civilization, her parliamentary system, her centuries of uninterrupted progressive development, her continuous absorption of one class into the one immediately above it, there was no need for revolt or revolution in order to turn F. E. Smith, shoemaker's grandson, into the brilliant Lord Birkenhead, one of the Empire's most important leaders. F. E. Smith would be an extremely rare exception in a country without a constitution such as the British, a constitution which is not a written document, but something evolved from the life of the nation itself. But in England such a case is not an exception. Hitler came to power in 1933 as the result of an overwhelming vote of a middle class with which the remnants of the upper classes and the sounder elements of the proletarians had joined hands. This is a fact apparently overlooked by the fierce democratic critics of his regime. . . .

Five years have actually passed since the advent of Hitler, and for a person like myself, who had passed the previous nine years in Germany studying existing conditions, many things are clear. In our days it has become fashionable to confuse the issues, or to pick out isolated points, ignoring the general trend of events and forgetting to separate the unimportant from that which has come to stay. It is also true to say that great historic upheavals are better judged from a distance, in the same way as you can only admire a chain of

mountains once you remove yourself from the foot of the hills. In our days slogans, shibboleths, and mottoes are being so continuously applied that they are accepted as truths, just as though we went to the Zoo and saw a donkey in a cage marked 'Lion' and did not trouble to use our common sense.

England is in fact one of the very few countries where inscriptions do correspond to the contents and she is therefore the freest country in the world. It is the exact opposite in Soviet Russia, where perhaps the inscriptions may be more attractive, but they are quite unconnected with the contents. As National Socialism does not appeal to Ukrainians, we are in a position to observe it impartially from a distance, and after having studied the developments of Revolutions in general I have come to the conclusion that for the middle classes ten years is the average period needed for them to awaken out of their stupor, to begin to take notice, and to decide that the time has come for such nonsense to stop. In the French Revolution, the German, and the Italian, it was always about a dozen years before the outburst was stopped and the destructive forces were steered into a constructive programme by the Tiers État.

This was achieved by the consolidation of three points or pivots round which the amorphous mass of turmoil settled down and took shape. These were: (*a*) Revival of Nationalism as a reaction against the Internationalism of vague revolutionary formulæ; birth of the Marseillaise; Allons Enfants de la Patrie. (*b*) A strong sense of private initiative and its outward form of private ownership of the Tiers État protected by the Code Napoléon. (*c*) A strong even if primitive feeling of religion and belief in God, the Good Master: the middle class farmer believes that the Good Master rewards the good servant by plentiful harvests and punishes the bad by droughts and earthquakes. This return to religion was proved by the blessing of a sown field or of the sprouting grain. This primitive religious mysticism is adapted to the mysticism of nature itself, and the theological structure of creeds and intricate ceremony is replaced by the concrete facts of adoration and pageantry, which explains the instinctive fear of the simple peasant for anything theoretical or outside the limits of his comprehension.

The simple man looks on complicated science with suspicion, and only recognizes it in its most tangible and useful forms. He suspects the theories and abstract ideas of professors who, he believes, can dress up any idea in an attractive form. He believes that science serves régimes, not religions, and that

therefore all that is simple comes from God and all that is incomprehensible comes from the Devil. This then gives rise to the demand for the separation of Church and State, more especially because the simple mind believes that the previous regime with all its sins and shortcomings was supported by the Church, always a supporter of the *status quo ante*. This may apply equally to the clergy of Tsarist Russia which refused to accept progress, or to the Catholic Centre Party of pre-Hitler Germany, which was in close touch with the régime of Weimar Germany.

In countries where Extremism did not go to such lengths a compromise in the interests of both sides was soon reached. This was the case in Italy, because she was on the victorious side, and also because the central seat of the Church, Rome, recognized the danger of playing with Extremism. The same would apply to a country which had not passed through a revolution and was, on the contrary, the personification of Evolution : the whole problem would not arise, and any differences would be settled by compromise and concrete arrangements. Thus we see that in the case of Italy after the struggle between Fascism and the Catholic Church a compromise was more easily arranged than in Hitler Germany.

There are two main reasons why a compromise was not easy in Germany and has in fact not been arranged yet. As I have already shown, the Catholic Church in pre-Hitler Germany saw in the growing of Extremism an opportunity for making proselytes from among the degenerate body of Protestants ; but it was at the same time a minority church, and therefore militant. But in Italy the Catholic Church was the one Church, which had existed for many centuries under many governments, either dictating to them or finding a way of compromise. In the second place, the religious struggle in Germany was increased by the existence of two churches : the Majority, or Protestant Church, and the Minority, or Catholic. In Italy the compromise was arrived at and is embodied in the Fascist law, of which paragraph 38, dealing with education in Italian schools, runs :

> ' Religious instruction shall consist in the teachings of the Catholic ethics, Christian doctrine, the Old Testament and the Gospels and shall be imparted in such hours as specified. The form of worship is that of the Roman Catholic Church.'

It therefore seems to me that, painful as the struggle between Church and State in Hitler Germany has been, a compromise will yet be found on the lines of ' Render under Cæsar the

things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's.'

The middle class, once it has begun to rise to the occasion, does not usually waste time, but goes straight ahead. It is in fact this class that has borne the brunt both of the War and of the distressing years following. The upper class, which had in the first place been blamed for defeat, was too antiquated to adapt itself to new conditions or deal with upheavals, so it was merely swept out of existence. As for the proletarian masses who, as it seemed then, had little to lose and all to gain, they quickly became the tools of the Extremists. They were recompensed by plunder to the detriment, first of the aristocracy, whose property had become a negligible quantity during the Revolution, then of the middle class, whose hard-earned savings they regarded as their right.

The daily work of re-construction had to be dealt with by those middle classes who had been hurt, but not destroyed, by war, defeat, and hardship. Everyday life had to go on. The middle class could not simply leave their homes and seek for better conditions elsewhere ; it was too practical to believe in Utopias or to waste time in a wild-goose chase. It fully realized that only hard and systematic work will produce living conditions and the accumulation of solid property was the aim of its life. This is the explanation of its attachment to the place where that property had been acquired through generations of hard work.

For the aristocracy, on the other hand, which had been the scapegoat for defeat and which had been obliged to flee from physical destruction, the problem was different, as it also was for the proletarian who had no interest in property and whose only assets through the centuries had been his physical strength and who now in the Revolution acquired everything by the law of smash-and-grab. But when under the guidance of the Utopians and maniacs of World Revolution the proletarian turned his attention to the next objective, the property of the middle class, he met with a strong and decided rebuff. Then those among the proletarians who began to understand the practical side of the problem, joined hands with the middle class.

The leaders of the middle class were ready enough to raise the better proletarian elements into their ranks, well knowing that the overthrow of the principles of private property in one class was bound to react unfavourably in other classes. They were also ready to accept members of the former ruling class who showed themselves willing to adapt themselves to

existing conditions. They looked on the acceptance of this remnant of the ruling class as the lesser of two evils and believed that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

There is another point that strikes me as interesting, and that is that those members of the middle class that came to power with the Tiers État were usually people of middle age, forty to fifty, who had been through the War and who were in a position to distinguish between the good and the bad from experience rather than by hearsay. They had been at the front, were trained in discipline, and had seen what destruction and Extremism bring in their train. This situation is only applicable to nations with either a strong middle class or a strong yeoman class. In Northern Russia, on the contrary, where a middle class does not and never has existed, there are no obstacles to the destructive work of World Revolution. 'Permanent Revolution' is there the motto and the essence of everyday life and work.

None of these conditions can be said to apply to England, a country that has solved its problems by means of sound common sense, parliamentary tradition, and laws based on precedent rather than theories. In England there is no need of a revolution to give equal opportunities to all, while free and open competition have always been the safeguard against the wild danger of Extremism. Here I would like to risk a prophecy, even although it may be dangerous to prophesy things that might be proved wrong during the prophet's lifetime: I believe that development in England will cause the Labour Party to split into two. The one portion, I hope the minority, will tend further towards the Left, will proletarize its psychology, will seek to avoid the traditional method of compromise, and will embark on a short cut—often in fact the longest and most expensive in the end—the short cut being Revolution, during which it will become increasingly entangled with Extremists. The other and overwhelmingly larger portion will grow increasingly constructive or, in other words, increasingly English, its aims will be more concrete and achievable, and its leaders more conservative. These young Tories will be more conservative than the old ones, whose position had always been taken for granted, and which encourage laziness and leisure, to be followed by a graceful old age. The Upper Set or Intelligentsia will either gradually give up the mad dreams of youth distorted by Extremism and, having outlived their phase of madness, will change over to constructiveness, or will pass away into oblivion. I believe personally that a large proportion of these are basically sound

by inheritance, so they will put aside their highbrow ideas, and the small minority, after wasting itself in orgies of moral and material decrepitude, will go to the dogs. It will be a rude awakening for them when they suddenly realize that there is no longer anyone to give them cheap applause, when not only their own set, but proletarians as well, turn their backs on them and say it was their 'pink' outlook that drove them to Extremism.

The process of consolidation is already taking shape at an increasing rate, as the events of the past few years have shown in both home and foreign affairs in Great Britain. In the General Elections of 1935 the Opposition came into the open and demanded that an extreme revolutionary programme should be enforced within twenty-four hours of their coming to power: Socialization of mines, industry, banks, and agriculture, the abolition of the House of Lords, and complete disarmament. With the demand for disarmament they coupled a demand first for war with Japan on the Manchukuo issue—not for the protection of British interests, but for the sake of a mad Utopian formula: War against Imperialism, quite forgetting that Imperialism is not always White, but in our days more often Red. Then they demanded war against Fascist Italy on the Abyssinian issue, preparing to shed blood for the sake of an Oriental Absolutist Potentate. In the third place they demanded war against Germany for having dishonoured the Versailles Treaty and occupied her own territories, and then against Germany and Italy on the Spanish issue.

For this extreme programme the electors cast close on ten million votes in 1935, while the National forces received just over eleven million. Having failed here, the Opposition joined hands with former leaders—Diehards, Opposition Liberals, Socialists prepared to give up the Dominions, the United Front of I.L.P.-cum-Communists, and a noisy crowd of Fascists—in the so-called Constitutional issue, when they noisily demanded 'God Save the King from Baldwin.' Baldwin, who was supported by the entire Empire as never before, succeeded in settling the issue without harm to either Monarchy or Constitution, because neither he nor the Monarch had any idea of what the Extremists of both Left and Right were trying to enforce behind their backs. Thus evolutionary traditional Great Britain gave a shattering blow to the displays of Revolutionary Internationalism-cum-personal ambition, and the answer was 406 to 6 in the Mother of Parliaments.

The same thing happened to another super-national organi-

zation, the League of Nations Union. Like an exotic orchid, it had quickly blossomed and acquired a membership of some millions from among the Utopians and the disillusioned ignorant masses misguided by them. But during the past year, when it began to get itself entangled with Extremists and United Front mischief-makers, its membership dwindled down to some fifty thousand. National security appealed more to the rank and file members than the Utopian ideas of a super-national body ruled by the votes of members who have nothing either to lose or gain, and only wish to make Britain pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the Red Utopians looming up behind them. Even London which, being a huge city, is full of the most varied people, parties and ideas, stood behind the National Government in this issue. People like Strauss even had to give up a chairmanship of a committee on the L.C.C.—and this again seems to confirm my humble prophecy of a future consolidation of England behind the National idea, no matter whether the person representing it calls himself National Conservative, National Liberal, or National Labour. In major issues such as these it is the great bulk of the upper and lower middle class with whom the final decision rests. When it decides that such nonsense must stop, then Parliament, the mouthpiece of the nation, sees to it that it does stop.

Any other country finding itself involved in such trouble and confusion threatening the whole essence of Constitution, would most probably have found itself in a bloody revolution. This was most probably the idea in the minds of the supporters of the Crisis for the sake of World Revolution. But Great Britain settled it all calmly and peacefully, over the week-end, as it were. An example of such magnitude for the rest of the world is an enormous asset for the civilization and culture of Europe, and therefore the world as a whole. The settlement was arrived at in the good old traditional progressive manner. Bloodshed was replaced by common sense. If some blood was spilled, then it was by those who failed to understand England, and whose hopes to defeat her in this crisis were scattered to the winds.

The British nation, owing to its enormous reserves of power resulting from a genuine parliamentary system and the boundless possibilities of constructive work, always produces great statesmen and leaders in moments of crisis. This spiritual leadership and the example it gives ought to be pondered over by other nations and accepted by them. Even to me, not an Englishman, only an unbiassed onlooker and student of modern history, one thing is clear, and that is that one of the

greatest statesmen of Europe will be recognized by future historians as one who lived up to the traditions of his country and her statesmen, and that is Stanley Baldwin. His name will go down in history as that of a great English patriot, and that generation coming directly after us will be proud to be able to say : ' We lived in the epoch of Baldwin in the history of our country.'

We must remember that after the sweeping success of the 1935 Elections he reminded the country—by that I mean the National forces—that although the battle was won now, it was only partly won. He said that the Opposition would now see the mistake it had made by coming into the open with its Extremist demands and would therefore mask itself under a veil of moderation, would misguide the people, and would in fact be a wolf in sheep's clothing. He warned his electors to be vigilant, to support genuine progress, to stand by the Conservative and National forces of the country, and to work hard for those aims. He warned the nation of the subtle methods of the Opposition, and his prophetic warning was heard by all who had ears and wished to hear. That is why the subsequent efforts to force a crisis and revolution on the country by non-English methods failed, and the entire country rose against it.

One climax followed upon the other. The next was the urgent need for unprecedented rearmament, a problem which was bound to be distasteful to a peace-loving nation. But as it was imperative for the sake of peace and freedom, the great bulk of sound, middle class England uttered not a word of protest when it was decided to spend more on armaments per head of the population than is spent in all Continental Europe. This was in fact a contribution to the peace, not only of England, but of Europe and the world as a whole, because nobody could honestly suppose that England is preparing for an aggressive war.

There was one constructive point in that unprecedented plan of rearmament, and that was that England did not look to any other quarters for help in the case of war. If war came she would have to bear the entire burden on her own shoulders for the simple reason that, in view of the disorganized condition of a world influenced by the Utopias of World Revolutionaries, no reliable ally could be found. As Baldwin said, it was the duty of the English nation to give a spiritual lead to a world undermined by illusions and high-running passions. Without a murmur of dissent the nation took the advice of a completely representative Government ; although grumbling is the Englishman's privilege he puts it aside at moments of

extreme tension. Again, speaking as an unbiassed student of modern times, I must say that I was struck by the way in which the middle class, which had said 'No' so decidedly in the one crisis, did not hesitate to say 'Yes' when a great sacrifice for the benefit of Britain and the world was needed. This middle class will not stand nonsense in any shape or form, and although we may consider it slow in thought—and therefore also in action—and feel annoyed at its rigidity of outlook or what we may call its insularity, no one could ever deny its sterling qualities or its refusal to let itself be exploited for the sake of party aims or personal ambitions.

In Germany we have a typical illustration of the middle class rising to power after a dismal period of war, lost hopes, and experiments in Extremism, while in Russia, where there is no middle class, we see that the Revolution developed according to a process that was different from the French Revolution. Besides, what we call Russia is really an entire continent containing forty-eight nations differing in history, tradition, language, and religion, so that the Revolution is bound to take on a different face in differing surroundings. A considerable number of these various nations have had either a middle class or a yeoman class, but Northern Russia, with its capital Moscow, never had one or the other. That is why the Revolution spreading from Moscow to the Non-Russian nations of the Union can only succeed if enforced from above by means of a militarist and absolutist policy of the Third International and its Executive, the Soviet Government. After having had the opportunity for studying conditions in Germany before and since the advent of Hitler, I have come to the conclusion that that country is a vivid example of the revolt of the middle class strata against Extremism, whatever quarter it may come from, and will examine it in detail in the following chapter.

VI MUDDLEDOM IN EUROPE : REGENERATED GERMANY

NOW LET US SEE whether Hitler has fulfilled the promises I heard him give on that evening in the Circus Krone, when he was speaking to a nation on the verge of material and moral ruin. The first question that arises is : from what quarters did he take the nucleus for his Third Reich and, what is perhaps more important, how has he succeeded in bringing into being a generation that would uphold his ideals and be ready to give its life for his cause ? The forces which he had at his disposal and which his genius knew how to collect and organize, were the Middle Class strata. These strata had borne the brunt of a war followed by defeat and the disastrous onslaught of Red Extremism. They were suddenly wakened out of their passive stupor by the realization that their Germany was being pushed into the abyss by events, so by an overwhelming vote given according to the old democratic system they swept Hitler into power. Even his bitterest opponents could not deny the facts of that vote.

The people rallied round him,[1] they believed in his sincerity, his unselfishness and in his idealism, which was mixed with practical common sense and therefore appealed to the middle class mentality. No matter whether he himself had emerged from the upper or the lower middle class : he upheld all that they believed in and hated all that they hated. In moments of extreme tension one cannot be lukewarm, everything must be done with Love or Hate with a capital letter. In this respect one cannot but admire the true patriotism of that grand old man Hindenburg, who was of a totally different class, different in everything except the sense of patriotism, yet he understood that if Germany was to be saved it would be done by the ' outsider ' Hitler. He bowed to the supreme necessity of saving the Fatherland and in the great struggle the Field-Marshal gave his fullest support to the Corporal. His name will therefore

[1] To a certain extent Hitler is aiming at a classless society in which the co-operation of the different degrees of society takes the place of class distinction and class warfare, which is the foundation-stone of Bolshevism and Marxism.

rank in German history amongst those of the greatest patriots of the country. Hitler came to power—harsh, resolute, well trained in discipline, showing his veneration for the retiring Field-Marshal by saying that 'in order to govern, one must first learn to obey.' In this he showed his genius, and a grasp of historical moments. He tackled all problems in a supremely practical and simple manner.

There was no time to be lost. His leadership was based on dictatorial methods and all urgent issues were solved on the spot. The existing disintegration was too deeply rooted for it to be cured by compromise, by roundabout methods, by evolution. Such measures would have been a dangerous luxury under the existing conditions. On the one side was everything that stood for stability and salvation, on the other was destruction and a set of people and politicians too weak to oppose it. Apart from a huge practical programme which had to be carried into effect immediately, he had also to make sure of future generations and mould them according to The Creed. Were it not a Creed, it would most certainly collapse in face of the enormous personal sacrifices which only a dictatorship can demand and impose. The fact that it has not collapsed after five years of hard work and realities is the best proof of its force. But let us follow his actions point by point.

Having installed the middle class in power in a kind of democratic Nationalism, Hitler saw that if unity of purpose was to be attained, class warfare must be replaced by a soothing and constructive class co-operation. What he actually did was to raise the lower strata up into the middle class and press the remnants of the upper class down into it. He achieved this by various and often quite individual methods. There was no time to be lost in replacing class warfare by class co-operation, because the foundations were too much shaken up by Extremism. What England succeeded in doing after six centuries of uninterrupted parliamentary evolution, Hitler had to do overnight by means of dictatorship, for his hand was being forced by circumstances beyond his control. The Nazi Party became the chief rallying point. Then, guided by his knowledge of facts and psychology, he turned his wrath against the Jews. If Civil War was to be avoided, there was no time for discrimination between the twenty-seven Parties of the previous régime, which had all been at each other's throats. These included a strong Communist Party which at the previous elections had polled six million votes and had at its disposal a Red Front Army of two million.

There could be no two opinions about the behaviour of the

eastern Jews in the hard days following Germany's defeat and the Versailles Treaty, to whatever Party they belonged. The entire German middle class had suffered from their obtrusive behaviour and their desire to gain power by means of money. They knew that it was the Jews who had been instrumental in letting Red Extremism get a firm foothold in Weimar Germany, so it was only logical that they should at last turn against these allies of Moscow. The drive against the Jews initiated by Hitler effectively took the wind out of the Communist sails, for it succeeded in replacing class warfare by a simpler formula that was far more acceptable to the Germany of those days. Besides, the majority of the Communist masses were nothing but misguided and unemployed people, often bribed to join the Communists by means of Bolshevik money.

I knew many young men of twenty-five or so who, in their whole lives, had never done a day's work. Not far from where I lived in Berlin there were some woods and they used to go there and bask in the sun. When I asked them how they were getting on they made no secret of having given up hope of obtaining work and of living on a miserable dole. They told me they did not like to move about much because this required energy and used up calories—a state of affairs not permissible under the dole. So they basked in the sun and read the only literature they could obtain free : Bolshevik propaganda, as a result of which they joined the Communist Party by the thousand.

The Socialists then in power did all they could to ruin the material existence of the middle classes. For this they blamed the heavy Reparations, thus turning the people against Versailles and the French and strengthening their belief that the Soviet State was the universal panacea for the under-dog. The gorgeous cars that tore about with the fat bejewelled mistresses of the new rich were hardly a sight to encourage moderation ! After Hitler had come to power I saw many of these hitherto hopeless young men coming out of the Labour Exchanges with tears of gratitude in their eyes. ' The first honest work I have had in my life ! ' they would say proudly. Whether this was an economic solution of the problem, was another matter altogether. Germany was causing everyone to tighten their belts in order to help the lower down-and-outs and restore to them their human rights. I thought of the words of Scripture : ' For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ? ' Riches can go any moment if once the Red Plague comes to power.

Hitler inaugurated what he called ' Winter Help,'[1] by which he made it a point of honour that every German should on the first Sunday of every month ponder over those less fortunate than himself, and eat a one-dish luncheon, giving away the balance of the money he would have spent on that Sunday meal under ordinary conditions. Everyone, from Hitler downwards, rose to the occasion. Collections were made and, thanks to the innate German sense of organization, they were brilliantly carried out. Everyone helped to collect in the streets, Cabinet Ministers and ordinary people alike, laughing with a crude sense of humour. As a result, 108 million pounds were collected in those years and were spent on clothing and food for the people. But the main thing about these collections was that everyone knew that every penny collected did actually go for the advertised purpose. With their true love of discipline, the Germans also responded to the appeal for physical training, adopting as their motto *mens sana in corpore sano*. Excellent labour camps appeared all over the country where young people were trained to fitness and were taught genuine comradeship which wiped out all artificial class distinctions. Every man of every class had to go there for six months' training : university graduates were there, civil servants, labourers. The sons of high officials, humble clerks, workmen, rubbed shoulders with the remnants of the old aristocracy. Even critics of the Nazi régime, such as the British press, had to admit the marvellous organization as well as the moral and physical health of these labour camps. The British press was continually laying stress on the system of concentration camps for political and criminal offenders, but it never mentioned the fact that in the two or three camps that are still in existence there are now less than two thousand prisoners, most of whom are criminals of the worst type. They seem to forget that Germany is still in the throes of a revolutionary process, of a national revival, that makes it impossible to compare her to the England of to-day. If they wished to be fair, they would compare the Germany of to-day with England in the days of Cromwell.

I sent one of my Ukrainian students to undergo a course of training in one of these labour camps. He returned fit, happy, and full of hope. He told me that according to the camp tradition, every member has to choose two special friends.

[1] Winter Help was inaugurated by the Bruning Government, but in those days of bureaucracy it was not supported by the population and therefore it failed ; but Hitler succeeded in awakening the enthusiasm of the people and thus caused it to grow into a mighty national organization.

My student chose the son of a local Baron, who had gone there for six months' training, and a simple labourer from Hamburg. Their work was connected with irrigation in the swamps near Hamburg. They all three became good friends, and when they left the rule was that they should write to each other once or twice a month, and take an interest in each other's life, giving help if necessary.

In a few years after coming to power in a Germany deprived of her colonies, her rich mines and the industrial centres on her frontiers, Hitler achieved a miracle, for he succeeded in cutting down unemployment from seven millions to a million and a half, and now it is nearly nought. It is true that his methods for liquidating unemployment would shock the orthodox economist, for many factories were overcrowded. But everyone was expected to make a sacrifice for the common cause, so that factory owners did not hesitate to employ more labour than they really needed. For the factory owner knew as well as everyone else that there was no alternative : it was a case of making a sacrifice or accepting Bolshevism. It was necessary for a country surrounded by unfriendly nations to be strong and united within, no matter whether the unfriendliness was deserved or not. The upper classes, in spite of their stubborn Reactionism, were able to realize during the Weimar period that Red Revolution would mean the destruction of themselves and their country, so they accepted Hitler—first reluctantly, then willingly. He saved them from physical destruction and saved their property : if not all of it, at any rate a considerable part. This then became a source of personal gain as well as a source of work and income for the nation.

To-day you can see in the ranks of the Black Shirts and the Brown Shirts a Hohenzollern and a bank clerk, a labourer and an ex-member of the Communist Party, all rubbing shoulders, laughing together and living in perfect agreement. But, you will ask, what of the Junkers, did they submit? The answer is : yes, they did. The best of them were killed in the War and the rest, bled white, emerged from Weimar Germany regenerated—not in the Prussian Junker sense, but regenerated in the sense of the German patriot. The main reason that made them follow the general development and progress with it was the need for a united Germany.

Under Hitler, Germany has become united. Local particularism, perhaps a permissible luxury in normal times, could not be tolerated at a time when so many forces were aiming at breaking up Germany. 'All for one and one for all' became

the motto and the programme. Hitler succeeded in doing what even the Iron Chancellor Bismarck had failed in : the unity of Germany was achieved. The Prussians were forced to realize that the hegemony of Prussia would mean the splitting off of various states such as Saxony, Bavaria, and perhaps others. This Germany could not afford. If a restoration of the Hohenzollerns were attempted, it would mean that the various local states would try and restore their own particular dynastics, and this would again weaken the unity so essential in the face of home and foreign dangers. This, perhaps, makes it clear why the supporters of the Reds in Germany and other countries, having failed in the attempts to sow dissension, are now suddenly supporting the restoration of Monarchies, as this is certain to bring class warfare, disintegration, and ultimately Red Revolution in its train.

In Germany such a restoration would cause even more bitterness because of the division between Catholics and Protestants. It is true that before the days of Hitler, Weimar Germany aimed at a policy of unification ; but that would have been unification under the flag of Extremism, and Berlin would have dominated outlying areas such as Saxony and Bavaria. Hindenburg, true Prussian though he was, understood the situation perfectly, and although in his Prussian heart he may have been reluctant to bestow on Hitler the first post in the Reich, he acted as a true German patriot. The Nazis were well aware of this, and it is a curious fact that in the leading group there is not one single Prussian. Hitler is an Austrian, or, to be more precise, of South German stock ; Goebbels is a Rhinelander ; Hess was born in Egypt ; Goering is a Württemberger. Only Papen is a Prussian, but he did not find it easy to get into the position he held till lately, and even then he was not in the leading group. The ruthless Goering, Hitler's most reliable man of confidence, ruled Prussia with an iron will and would stand no nonsense such as an attempt to restore the hegemony of Prussia. The Führer-principle is carried out all along the line and no deviations are allowed.

In all his reforms Hitler has proved himself a far-sighted leader of the post-War and post-revolution Tiers État. In his work he shows not only a deep comprehension of facts and an understanding of the psychology of the masses, but he applies his knowledge to the practical life of the nation. I will only mention a few examples that may be interesting at this point. The Army, to begin with, is a strong unifying factor for Germans of all classes. Hitler restored the belief that it is a soldier's sacred duty to give his life for the Fatherland.

'Deutschland über alles in der Welt' became a holy creed. How many people outside Germany, who are still under the influence of war propaganda, still believe that this is an incitement to conquer the world! It is nothing of the sort; it means that for the German, Germany stands first, just as France stands first for the Frenchman, or England for the Englishman. When a man enters the German army, his promotion depends solely on his personal qualities and merits. The Army is the traditional German instrument for the protection of her frontiers, and is the pivot of the country. It is the pivot of its existence and security, and the backbone of the *raison d'État*-psychology of the nation.

Abroad it was always believed that the Army was opposed to Hitler, and that it was only waiting for a chance to turn him out. But I would ask, why should that be so? Has he not restored it from the mud into which it was dragged by the Extremists, not only by their laws, but by their support of the ideas expressed in books by Remarque and other similar authors, who gained popularity by their derision of the Army and of Conservative principles, and who ridiculed all that a united Germany needed for her protection? When rumours of the Army's opposition to Hitler began to spread abroad assisted by the pro-Soviet Press of this country, it came like a bolt from the blue when the Army took an oath to Hitler personally, an oath which recalled the oath of personal allegiance taken by Napoleon's army. Therefore the Press campaign had to search for other chinks in the armour.

With regard to the Blackshirts and Brownshirts, here is a typical fact not known to many. I was told that the membership cards of the Nazi Party are made out according to the date of joining the Party, as I have been able to verify personally. In this way pre-eminence is given to the first hundred thousand who joined the party in its first stages, long before Hitler came to power. These are, so to speak, the guard, well proven and trustworthy. When one of these dies, his card is not passed on to the next on the list, but is put aside. Then, when a young, comparatively new member proves his efficiency and shows himself talented and trustworthy he may be promoted to receive that card over the heads of others. This is quite contrary to the usual proceedings in business, etc., where a man of humble origin may have to wait years for promotion, for in the Nazi Party a man can rise by his own merits and even become a Cabinet Minister. Is this not a striking application of Napoleon's word that every soldier carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack?

Reference is often made to the revolt of 30 June, which was so ruthlessly put down by Hitler at the cost of many lives, and it is again and again spoken of as his greatest crime. But quite apart from the merits or demerits of the case, the psychological factor underlying it is worthy of mention. When taking the oath of complete and unreserved obedience by his party leaders, Hitler discovered the plot. Not one of the victims denied its existence, for they were courageously proud of it. Therefore he took drastic measures to suppress it, for if he demanded complete discipline from the rank and file, how much more essential for the *raison d'État* was the obedience of his collaborators and party men ! Why not a public trial ? may be asked. But it was an emergency case. The crime had been proved, and a public trial would have shown a split in the party, it would have caused discussion of the basic principle on which the safety of this new Germany depended. It would have had the same effect as if the last Constitutional crisis had been made the subject of an election campaign in England, bringing in all the principles of tradition and Constitution. The difference was that England could look back on 600 years of uninterrupted Parliamentary régime—and even so there was nearly a split in the nation. But Hitler Germany was and still is living through a revolution. 'Lost time is equal to death,' said Peter the Great and that is true in such moments of emergency and revolution.

There is, however, another parallel which would not be out of place here. I have elsewhere described Kerensky's behaviour in the summer of 1917, when the Civil Servants and the Army put down the Bolshevik rising. When they demanded drastic measures Kerensky replied : 'Not in a democratic Russia !' And what was the result ? The lives of one or two dozen Extremists were spared—but then came Bolshevism and many millions slaughtered, starved, and destroyed. How much more acute would be a civil war in a country like Germany, so much more densely populated than Russia ! But Hitler's prompt action against the enemy who raised the revolt against him saved the country from that fate. It was the instinctive knowledge of this that moved Hitler to act as he did, taking the entire responsibility on to his own shoulders. The mental tortures that he passed through are shown on the photographs taken that same night, when he replied to the cheering crowds who were seeking for his guidance and protection. The torture on his pale face could not be concealed, but it was not the torture of personal fear, no—it was fear for his sacred Germany, fear for shattered illusions caused by the treachery

of those he had trusted. The people's faith in him grew yet more after this, not because victors must not be criticized, but because facts had proved him right.

Now yet another example. Under the previous régime the peasantry was down and out, for the Extremists in power had evidently applied to them the policy Lenin expressed to me in 1908 and which was consequently carried out by his Government: 'The peasant is a reactionary brute and must be destroyed, he is a hindrance on the way to Socialism.' In Germany perhaps it was not done so openly, so drastically, but it was carried out by ordinary Socialist measures, by undermining the stability of that *bourgeois* class of peasants. But when Hitler came to power he adopted the very opposite measures, for he regarded the peasant as the mainstay of the country, the very backbone of the German rural Tiers État. He declared the profession of tilling the land to be the most honourable that can be bestowed on man. Enormous credits are being given for the draining of swamps and for buying the land from the great landowners, turning it into small peasant holdings. Even in small details one can see this policy of helping the peasant being carried out.

For instance, a few years ago, if one visited the local Nazi club or the village inn, one noticed old green bottles of very acid, low-grade wine standing on every table. Grapes are grown in many parts of Germany, but apart from those in the Rhine and Moselle districts they are of poor quality. The wine was always used up by the local growers, while the surplus, owing to lack of demand and organization, went into the gutter. But Hitler has changed all that. He organized the production, the bottling and the sale of local wines and made it a point of honour for everyone to help the peasant by ordering it. Part of the sums thus earned went to the Nazi funds, but the large bulk was paid to the peasantry. 'Who ever thought of us before our Hitler came and helped us?' was the usual reply of the peasants when I discussed this matter in the remotest villages of Germany. This again was an appeal to the Tiers État.[1]

Another time I was sitting in a popular café in Berlin, listening to a military band playing in the Tiergarten. The café and its terraces were overcrowded, so that I only found a seat with difficulty. An elderly woman was sitting at my table, and every time the band played the favourite Boden-

[1] Hitler cancelled death-duties. The peasant farm, or *erbhof*, cannot be divided amongst inheritors, but the heir has to provide for his brothers in case of their unemployment.

weiler March, she cheered more loudly than the rest. So I spoke to her, telling her I was a foreigner and studying Germany.

'Why are you so enthusiastic about Hitler?' I asked. 'Has he really done anything good for Germany?'

Then she began to get excited. 'Don't you see,' she cried, 'he saved Germany from the Jews, from Bolshevism, from starvation, and from foreign domination! And if you ask what he did for the poor folk, just look at my case,' and she went on to explain that she was a telephone supervisor with 200 girls working under her. On the first of the following month the automatic dialling system was to be introduced in her exchange, so that she and the majority of the girls had been given notice to leave. Then she heard that Hitler had a permanent aide-de-camp whose duty it was to see anyone coming with a grievance. So she went to him and put the whole case before him. Now she had received a notice telling her that the Führer had considered the matter and had given orders for her and the dismissed girls to be given work elsewhere. 'Isn't he our man?' she asked, 'Isn't he our saviour?'

I thought this was a typical example, for even if those 201 women had formerly not been genuine propagandists of the Hitler cause, they were so now—and they belonged to the lower middle class.

Yet another example. As a result of the universal bankruptcy of the middle and lower classes in pre-Hitler Germany, the inns and small restaurants suffered considerably, as nobody could afford to go to them. Obviously the Weimar people did not care—they were possibly even rather glad that the middle class, the obstacle to Socialism, should be in such a plight. But now every week or every month the *Sturm*—the chief company of the Brownshirts or Blackshirts—of every district organizes an informal *Bierabend* in the various inns. But things are so arranged that, for instance, the *Sturm* of a Berlin suburb will have its *Bierabend* in Brandenburg some sixty kilometres from Berlin, while the Brandenburg *Sturm* has the function in Berlin. Even cheap railway fares are provided for the occasion. As a result the publicans, even if they do not prosper, at least manage to make a living, but above all they, these members of the middle class, are enthusiastic supporters of 'Our Hitler's' régime. Another point about this arrangement is that the *Sturms* of various places get to know each other and have an opportunity of making friends.

A few years ago I happened to meet a Nazi Cabinet Minister,

Goering's right-hand man, and began to speak to him about these *Bierabende*. Thereupon he immediately asked me to join him and come to one that was being held that evening in Lichterfelde, a Berlin suburb. So we got into his car and drove off. We found the inn decorated with banners and Chinese lanterns and the long bare tables covered with mugs of beer and paper plates of sausages, while the *Sturm* were laughing, joking, and singing soldier songs. The Cabinet Minister, his chauffeur and I went in and were greeted—but not as distinguished guests, in spite of his position. We drank beer and ate sausages and I sat between the Minister and his chauffeur, who addressed him as 'Comrade,' the same as the other Nazis present. When I asked him questions, he replied and the chauffeur joined in the discussion, not by any means always agreeing with what the Minister said. After some argument, the Minister would often admit that the Comrade Chauffeur was right. There was no trace of tension, no sign of superiority of rank or intelligence; they just talked like any two friends. Even in the trenches I had never seen anything to equal this perfect and genuine comradeship. When the time came for us to leave, the Minister made a sign to Comrade Chauffeur. Up he jumped and clicked his heels: he was once more only the chauffeur. Then, after leaving the Cabinet Minister at his house, he drove me home, and as I was sitting next to him we began to chat. I pointed to his right hand, where the first finger was missing.

"Where did you lose that?" I asked.

"Oh, before the Machtübernahme (coming to power) I was wounded in a brawl with the Bolsheviks, and as gangrene set in, it was good-bye to my finger."

"But why gangrene?" I asked. "You have such good doctors and hospitals in Germany."

"That is true, sir, but in those days nearly all the doctors were Jews. If I had gone to one, he would immediately have reported me to the police as a Nazi, and I would have gone to prison. So my wife looked after me till it got so bad that she had to look for a non-Jew doctor. But by that time it was too late and the finger had to go." He said all this in a detached way, without any trace of bitterness, as though it were all natural and a matter of course. . . .

One day I was walking out with a German friend and heard roars of 'Heil, Hitler!' The Führer was slowly driving along in his great open Mercedes, acknowledging the salutes right and left. My friend suddenly changed: the solid pater-familias, the cool-headed banker, grew red in the face and

began to shout 'Heil, Hitler' with the rest. I was amazed. "Why such enthusiasm?" I asked.

"Don't you see? He saved Germany . . . he saved us . . ." it was like a *cri de cœur*, and he went on to explain everything in his own way. There was no doubt that he was genuine!

This reminds me of another case which also illustrates the enthusiasm of the business man. One of my German friends was Chief Controller of the German Chemical Industries, one of the largest German concerns, and in this capacity he had to deal with some 80,000 documents every month. In spite of this he still found time and energy for military drill: every morning at six o'clock he put on his black Nazi uniform and went off to the parade ground with his chauffeur. There they both did their daily drill in the ranks and by 8.30 he was in his place at his office. As he proudly told me about this, his healthy complexion and jovial sunburnt face left no doubt in my mind that they were both good and happy comrades.

But here the question naturally arises, from where do the Nazis get the necessary funds, how can they manage all these activities on the resources of a Germany ruined by war and revolution? The answer is, however, obvious to anyone who knows Germany and the Germans. In the first place, the Mark is not money:[1] it is an 'obligatory circulation note' without much outside value. And in the second, the marvellous organization and discipline has made the entire nation accept *raison d'État* as the sacred pivot of their existence. Materially, the whole thing amounts to a tightening of everybody's belt, and in view of the perfect organization of the whole country, one may be very sure that if something is lacking on the table of the poorest of the poor, it is also lacking on the Führer's table.

Now a word as regards organization. Before Hitler came to power, I was one day discussing the Jewish problem with a German. When I asked him whether he was an anti-Semite he replied:

"Yes, but not an organized one."

That meant to say that he was anti-Semite by conviction but that he had neither time nor desire to take part in any organized movement.

The sacrifices made by the people for the common cause are quite incredible: no other nation in the world would

[1] When saying that the Mark is not currency, I mean it is not currency according to orthodox political economy. There are 187 different rates of exchange for the Mark, and in some cases it is reckoned at pre-War gold value (for reckoning the salaries of German diplomats abroad).

submit to them without the most serious outbursts. Did not Germany prove her capability for sacrifice by fighting—rightly or wrongly—forty-four nations during the four years of a strenuous war? In the Englishman the spirit of self-sacrifice is born from centuries of instinctive self-preservation, but in the German it is based on *raison d'État*. Matters have now been considerably improved by the formation of what is known as *Ersatzindustrie* (Substitute industry).

Thanks to the many excellent chemists and scientists, substitutes have been found to take the place of raw materials which in ordinary circumstances would be imported from abroad. True, in many cases the production of substitutes is not economical, as in the case of making synthetic oil from coal, or the manufacture of synthetic rubber. But this hardly matters, because such substitutes are paid for by the Marks that have been accepted as legal tender throughout the country. In cases where no substitute has been found, and the goods cannot be produced inside the country, a system of barter is adopted. This can be compared to the case of a farmer who, when he needs things such as clothes or medicine, takes a ham from his store-room and exchanges or sells it in the nearest village even for half-price, quite satisfied to receive sufficient to pay for the goods he needs. He is also prepared to do without many things till better times come.

In the case of debts and mortgages, which are many, similar methods are adopted—again comparable to the case of the farmer. When the creditor fails to collect his debts, he threatens to seize the farm. But the farmer manages to convince him that nothing would be gained by turning him off, for then the farm would most certainly not pay. So the creditor is also prepared to bow to necessity and wait for better times. Also, the farmer can always argue that other debtors do not pay, even if they are in a position to do so. Take this country and her debts to the United States; or the U.S.S.R. with all her natural wealth—do they pay, or wish to pay? Certainly not.

The farmer's creditor, however, sees that the farmer is making all the sacrifices he can, and is keeping his farm in good order, so he is all the more prepared to wait. Another argument which is continually being put forward is that Germany could pay if she were not spending all her money on armaments. This is also true, but everyone is arming in these days. So *vis pacem, para bellum* is not the privilege of the few. Did not Germany offer to cut down her army to 300,000 and was not the offer rejected by Barthou, thus starting the folly of armaments?

I must add that a dictatorial régime such as is now in force in Germany would never be tolerated by any other people, especially such as had not been through the misery of demoralization and Red Extremism, and it is all very well for critics to laugh at their 'organized spontaneous enthusiasm.' But I maintain that the enthusiasm is there, and the impression it gives of being organized is solely due to the German character which demands that if a thing is done at all, it must be done well and, above all, it must be organized.

In many cases, having no sense of humour, they fail to see the joke of something being described as 'organized and spontaneous.' Besides, what is the alternative? Is it parliamentary Democracy? After their disastrous experiences in this direction, that may be described as dead. In any case it was never genuine, as it lacked the necessary centuries of tradition; in order to appeal to the average middle class German a parliamentary system would have to be based on a sound knowledge of facts, not on doctrines and theories, which in their eyes is nothing more than nonsense.

And this brings me to the matter of Guilds, which for centuries past have been the background of the old Patricians, the industrials and the artisans: in fact of the basic elements of Germany as a whole. A Guild is a body of men united by their trade, and a German once said to me when we were discussing the system:

"You talk of parliaments—but if you have a toothache, you go to a dentist, and if you want to build a house, you go to an architect. This is reasonable. But when you deal in politics, you expect everyone to know everything! Why should a man from a particular district—no doubt a good and capable man in his way—be expected to solve problems which have nothing to do with his own local affairs, such as international policy, for instance, of which he knows less than nothing? The attitude we take up is to let the Government decide, for we trust that. Only look at our Führer, how he saved Germany, he saved us from Versailles. He gave us the army. He has freed Germany from the despicable restrictions imposed on her territories on the Rhine. And did he not offer to cut down the army? But the French rejected that offer. They even built their formidable Maginot-line, and demanded that our frontiers should remain unprotected. And what is the Maginot-line?" he went on. "In my opinion it is an *Imaginot*-line, something like the Chinese Wall that was built centuries ago to protect China from foreign influence and which failed to do so. To-day it is not armies, but ideas

that will alter nations. The Maginot-line is only there to protect the rear and let the armies manœuvre freely. But we will not attack France, the Führer says so. He knows too well what a war means, and another war would destroy the whole world—including Germany. I know that the French aren't idiots: they are quite well informed about us, about our aims and ideas. But how could any French Government, wishing to remain in power, ever admit to the people that the vast sums spent on the Maginot-line were only spent for home tactics? Such an admission would make the thrifty French so furious that the Government and all responsible for the expense would be swept away. Therefore the French Government has to hold up the bogy of German attack and German invasion before the electors and so keep the kettle simmering, while they themselves tend further and further towards the Left, under the guidance of the Second and Third International. Under such conditions, do you think we can leave our western frontier unprotected? Most certainly not," he concluded.

The unbiased student of German affairs is faced with two questions giving rise to doubt. First, what about the Church and Religion? And secondly, when Hitler dies, will there be a generation to follow in his footsteps or will the whole movement simply evaporate? The latter question is not so hard to answer. Anybody who has studied modern Germany must realize that the young people of to-day are even a hundred per cent more enthusiastic about the régime than their elders. Their happiness, their perfect health are sufficient proof, for those at any rate must be genuine: nobody can pretend to be healthy or happy. Their heart and soul are imbued with the Creed, which is the practical achievement of their lives.

I only need to compare these young people with those I was always seeing before the Hitler régime, in buses, in the underground, at school, or in their homes. They were invariably dirty, untidy; they lolled about, boasting at the tops of their voices about their many love affairs, about the cabarets they had been to. Even if none of it was true and was only done in order to show off, it was none the less repugnant. And now, in those same places, one sees them all clean and neatly dressed, with good manners, respectful to older people and always ready to give up their seats to others—a thing they had never thought of in the old days.

In those pre-Hitler days I was once in a bus with my cousin. It was overcrowded and people were scrambling for seats.

My cousin, seeing a delicate-looking woman standing, offered her his seat, but before she could get near it an untidy young man grabbed it. My cousin explained that he had not given up his seat for him, but for the woman. But the young man refused to move, remarking : " Oh, that doesn't matter, that is only my wife." Hitler changed all that, however, and he swept away all the unwholesome cabaret life, the film propaganda ; he did away with Nudism, which shows off the worst sides of human nature to the public eye, and instead he restored family life and showed that motherhood was the greatest and most sacred aim in Germany to-day. He has made it into a clean, Spartan nation which one cannot see without admiring.

With regard to the methods of dealing with Race, it is true that whatever the Germans do, they do crudely, sweepingly, fundamentally ; it is their way of doing things that annoys us and strike us as mad. And yet—do the English not ostracize any Englishman who marries a half-caste or an Oriental ? So why should the Germans, who regard the Jews as Orientals, not be entitled to protect themselves in their own country and in their own way against a mixing of blood ? It is true that German blood is already very mixed, because in the past Germany was a theatre over which great armies were continually moving north, south, east, and west, leaving a legacy of foreign blood. That is perhaps the very reason why the question of race is rather a sore point, and why the ' cleansing process ' is so persistently being carried out. But it is very probable, even if German blood is not pure now, that a hundred years or so hence they will by their thoroughness and systematic perseverance succeed in producing a race of thoroughbreds, Aryans, or whatever they choose to call them.

We Ukrainians are not Nazis, but the percentage of mixed marriages in our whole history has been infinitesimal, for the preservation of the purity of our Ukrainian yeoman stock was an innate instinct and was not decreed by laws from above. During the three centuries of Tartar subjection, we never intermarried with the invaders and oppressors ; it was the same during the Polish and the Great Russian invasions. How right is Gustave Lebon when he attributes the permanent revolutions in the South American States to the mixture of many bloods, for they cause the mixing of the most divergent characteristics in one body. So the Great Russian instinct for domination, conquest, and subjugation can be traced back to the influence of strange blood brought to them by the Tartar hordes. They inter-married with the Tartars and accepted

their habits and laws. On the whole, therefore, clan-feeling is not to be despised, even although it is regarded as reactionary!

Why, in England and other European countries people breed pedigree horses and dogs, and are proud when they take prizes for them, regarding it as a national tradition. Is it not more important to have thoroughbred human races? One only needs to think of the vitality of the Jewish race, and remember that this is due to the fact that in their case the mixing of blood did not occur till comparatively late, when the original stock was well established and had been strengthened by the vicissitudes through which they passed. We are not yet in a position to judge whether the intermarrying of Jews with non-Jews has brought assets to their race. Who can say whether Hitler's race policy will not also benefit the racial purity of the Jews, and whether his cleansing process, which we now rank in the list of persecutions, will not one day be an asset to them too?

Now with regard to the Church. In pre-Hitler Germany the behaviour of the churches, whether by their own fault or not, was not always altogether commendable and the principle of the end justifying the means was detrimental for the Church as well as for Germany. Therefore there was bound to be a clash when the strong revival against the previous régime began. As soon as matters reached stalemate on the political battlefield, the question arose as to who was going to control youth. This opened up old wounds, especially those connected with strong political undercurrents. There can be no doubt that if there is to be a choice between Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Extremism—and there is no other alternative—the Church ought to support the former, if only as the lesser evil. For did not Hitler order all Catholic soldiers to attend Mass, and all Protestant soldiers to go to their churches? They were not permitted to attend their respective services, they were commanded to do so. And did he not order the young people to arrange their times of drill so that time would be left free for going to church? And yet, what was the answer to this?

First, when the Red Plague was raging in Germany, the Catholic Church excommunicated the Nazis. Then, when its Government was defeated it went on and on, always hoping for the re-establishment of a democratic parliamentary system, and hoping that in this way it would acquire power as it had done under Brüning. Did it not subtly and indirectly attack all that Hitler did and also every point in his programme? Extremism always causes Extremism and retaliation. People

like to point to the paganism that is spreading in Hitler Germany, and to Ludendorff's ridiculous scheme. But in spite of all Ludendorff's propaganda his followers did not surpass 30,000 out of a total population of 65 million.

The true answer I believe lies in the fact that as a result of the Hitler Revolution the Church, which was inextricably linked up with the previous régime, came in for its full share of the blows. It seems to be a general rule that in such cases the Church is always linked up with the previous régime. It was so in Tsarist Russia, where it was part and parcel of Tsarism. In Germany it was the other extreme, for it was linked up with a government which was incapable of fighting against spreading Red Extremism.

In pre-Revolutionary France it was the same again, for the church dignitaries were part of the Bourbon régime, and when this fell they could not decide to give up the rights and privileges which it had granted them. Let the Churches therefore learn the lesson which history teaches them: in France, when the Tiers État came to power, it led to the separation of Church and State ; in the long run this separation gave assets to both sides, as each is the complement of the other in its own domain. The Church must stand on its own feet and be independent of the temporary benefits granted by the State. When it becomes an independent body it acquires virility and an independent life, and this eventually must bring harmony into the dealings of both sides.

After the French Revolution, the separation was painful and claimed many victims, but after a time the balance of power was restored. The agreement between the two was in fact so harmonious that when, during the War of 1914, regiments with no padres demanded that one should be permanently attached to the staff, the demand was immediately acceded to by the Republican Government, strong in the tradition of the Revolution of the Tiers État. In the case of Fascist Italy, both sides soon found a compromise, because there were so many great issues to be settled that they could not waste time over petty bickerings. The greater issue, by the way, was the Red onslaught of the Moscow Revolutionaries.

As I have already said, Hitler Germany arose from the ashes of a European country that, after suffering a defeat unprecedented in history, became an easy prey for Bolsheviks, swindlers, and Extremists, as well as a playground for World Revolution and Marxism in every form. As a result of this complete disintegration, Hitler Germany found its vitality, its idealism, and its patriotism, and moulded them into a strong

dictatorship based on the National Revival of the middle class stratas. It was not long before all that was still untouched by the demoralizing effects of Marxism rallied round the new Third Reich. It must be remembered that on the occasion of the famous Munich march at the beginning of the Movement the victims shot by order of the Government of the day included people of all classes: ex-officers, sailors, aristocrats, clerks, and humble labourers.

This amalgamation of the representatives of all classes assured the development of Nazi Germany from the very outset, replacing the policy of class antagonism by a policy of class co-operation. This is proved by the fact that the Statthalters of present-day Germany are all former sailors, workmen, officers, clerks and, last not least, aristocrats, and that they are all harmoniously working for their beloved Third Reich. Simultaneously with this process of amalgamation, a purging process is being carried out with a view to ridding the party of the troublesome and adventurous elements which are the inevitable results of every revolution.

Sometimes this process is carried out by pacific means, at other times methods are adopted which come as a shock to those who would apply their own standards of life to Germany, quite forgetting that Germany is passing through a revolution and renaissance the only parallel of which could be found in the days of Cromwell. The replenishing of the ruling class either follows the evolutionary path, as in England with her centuries of parliamentary tradition, or else is carried out by revolutions following upon such upheavals as European wars. The former method applies to Germany, the latter to Napoleonic France. In countries where there is no middle class, such as Northern Russia, there is also nothing to restrain the forces of Extremism; these therefore continue and increase till they collapse under the weight of their own momentum. National renaissance, however, rallies round itself, increasing supporters from all classes and attracts the more efficient, patriotic and constructive elements. This was the case in post-Revolutionary France, and is now happening in Hitler Germany and, to a greater degree, also in Italy, where, however, the classes were not so drastically swept away as in Germany. The same process is also apparent in Franco-Spain and in our Ukrainian Hetman movement.

VII

MUDDLEDOM IN EUROPE : NATIONAL REVIVALS

I WOULD NOW LIKE to discuss the foreign policy of the Tiers État of Hitler Germany. When Hitler came to power, the problems to be dealt with at home were so many of such magnitude that he could give no time to outside matters. So he left the professional diplomats to settle these and adjust the various differences that resulted from his home policy. Other countries, especially those where so-called Popular Front Governments were now in power, were not too pleased to see Germany begin to slip out of the grasp of the Extremists. Here it would not be out of place to give some thought to the repercussions produced by the National Revivals in many countries, especially with regard to such problems as the League of Nations as it now exists.

If at some time before the War anyone had suggested, merely for the sake of argument, that a small town on the Baltic named Danzig, formerly one of the ports of the Hanseatic League, should be cut off from Germany and be made an independent state, and that the final decision in the matter was to depend on the views of, say, a Chinaman—a decision by which all other Powers would abide—that person would have been regarded as a lunatic who had made a bad joke. As things have turned out, however, Danzig has in fact become independent according to a decision of the Great Powers who entered the League of Nations, where it would be quite possible for a Chinaman to preside. Had this been the case, I am convinced that the entire European Press would have expressed the opinion that ' in post-War Europe impartial international justice has so far advanced that a European problem may be settled by a Chinaman ! ' As a matter of fact those who decided the fate of Danzig, especially Mr. Lloyd George, were perhaps no less ignorant as to where Danzig was to be found on the map than any Chinaman.

The British people, who have built up the greatest Empire in the world, a genuine Commonwealth of Nations, are supreme in business ; but if I may be permitted a word of

friendly criticism, directly they have to deal with abstract ideas they are like children threatened with the loss of a favourite toy : they shed tears and show a sentimental desire to keep it.

The League of Nations as it is to-day could be compared to a board of fifty directors of a business concern, appointed by different nations to run the whole world. Supposing the Managing Director, responsible for the various branches of the business in various parts of the world, were one day told that all decisions, both great and small, were henceforth to depend on the fifty directors of various nationalities, he would undoubtedly offer his resignation and suggest the closing down of the business.

The League of Nations is precisely such a concern, full of the diametrically opposed aims and interests of the compounding elements. To the English mind the League—an abstract idea —is not only an expensive plaything, but a dangerous one as well. It is dangerous because too much hope is centred in it, and too much idealism. Unfortunately in real life Idealism always has a satellite attached to it : the Swindler, who cheats the Idealist for his own personal profit.

The League is certainly a beautiful and expensive thing. The most striking fact at the meetings is that the representatives of great or small nations, instead of saying what their own countries want, and following the wise rule of putting their cards on the table, only come there in order to lay down the law to others, telling them what they ought to think, to claim, or to receive. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the wise policy of minding one's own business is here replaced by the policy of the Nosey Parker. Petty selfish aims are veiled under the most spectacular formulas about Broad Outlooks, Equal Rights, Divine Wrath against the Aggressor—but the aggressor is always judged by judges who are themselves litigants in the lawsuit, while the same formulas and shibboleths are used by groups representing diametrically opposed interests.

The essence has been taken out of the form, it has soared up into undiluted Idealism, while the form is left to the mercy of the swindler who uses it for his own not altogether altruistic ends. Did any people seriously suppose last year that, if the British Fleet had attacked Italy on behalf of the League (which consisted of three of the eight Great Powers) and had bombed the Italian coast with shells inscribed 'L. of N., Made in Geneva,' this would not have led to war between England and Italy? And did they expect that after a good day's work of bombing the British Bluejackets would signal to the Italian



Associated Press Photo

LENIN AS A YOUNG MAN

ones : ' Come on board and have a drink, for our countries are at peace with each other ? '

One cannot build a roof without first building walls and foundations, and in this case the walls and foundations are the National Revival of nations and people. Once nations have passed through the stage of national revival, and are free from the burden of war, Extremism and passion, then will be the time for them to come to Geneva or elsewhere and put their cause before the regenerated world. But till such a time the League, which is now only an instrument of trouble, disillusion, injured pride and intrigue, had best limit itself to dealing with neutral matters such as the fight against disease. Perhaps in a regenerated League the genuine interests of the participants would be more openly put forward, with the result that a true compromise would more easily be found.

If in this problematical Geneva of to-morrow Germany were to be represented by, say, Goering, great and ruthless patriot ; France by someone of the Weygand-type ; Italy by Mussolini ; and England by Baldwin, hundred per cent national Englishman, or ' Imperialist,' to use the nickname employed by the Left Wing Press—then a step forward would be made in restoring the balance, and a balance of power would take the place of to-day's balance of disorder. Possibly the unreserved nationalism of such men would result in the initial discussions being somewhat heated ; but not for long, for they would soon come down to facts and settle the differences point by point, each recognizing the other's interests and finding a compromise. What we have now are nothing but formulas and vague principles, for the people go there not to represent their countries' clear-cut interests, but to impose these formulas on distressed nations by means of their numerical alphabetical vote.

Some years ago I was in Upper Silesia while a hand-to-hand fight was in progress between Germans and Poles as a result of the ludicrous frontier-line that had been drawn at Versailles and other conferences. According to these, a factory would be in Germany and its power-station in Poland ; or in a village it was necessary to get a visa before being able to cross the street—and the frontiers—in order to water the garden which had been allotted to the other country. It was obvious that such a state of affairs must lead to bloodshed, feuds, and wilful demolition of property, and that it was in fact the aim of the Dictators of Versailles to keep the Poles and Germans in a constant state of loggerheads. Truly a singular manner in which to bring much needed peace to Europe !

Poland and Germany appealed to the League of Nations. The League, after several months of deliberation, sent Albert Thomas, an International Socialist, President of many League Commissions, to look into the matter. For this he was paid what in my opinion was a disproportionate salary plus expenses. Both sides impatiently awaited the arrival of this wise Solomon to settle all their troubles. When he at length arrived, both sides offered him banquets. Flattering toasts were drunk. Albert Thomas heard everything, listened to everybody, accepted long memoranda full of statistics, and with a friendly smile returned to Geneva. The matter was urgent, please note! Bloodshed was going on and valuable property being destroyed. But Albert Thomas, the Idealist, thought only of one thing: International ideals, the wiping out of national feuds by means of destroying petty national feelings and prejudices, and replacing them by the high principles of International Socialism. It took him over a year to ponder the matter, and in the end the League Commission, again filled with Idealists, reached stalemate.

No doubt the League of Nations has carried out some valuable statistical work, has suggested and in rare cases carried out international measures against disease. It has even tried to put down drug traffic and the White Slave Trade —in the latter case, however, with the greatest reservations, because for political and idealistic reasons it was not good form to mention the 160 million slaves in Soviet Russia; so its recommendations had perforce to be limited to Nigeria and Timbuctoo. Major issues could, however, not even be approached by the League for two main reasons: (*a*) because those who were supposed to deal with them had accepted the Socialist principles of super-nationalism or, to put it bluntly, meddling in other people's affairs; 'other people' being those whose views and aims were different from their own. And (*b*) because all they were really capable of doing was to draw their comfortable salaries in the calm surroundings of the Lake of Geneva, while the more agile ones tried to use the whole League machinery for personal party profits, proclaiming Equality of Interests on the one hand, and on the other opposing the entry into the League of certain nations on the ground that they were not yet ripe for admission. No wonder that Geneva became a land of ideals and at the same time the centre of the most subtly dangerous plots in Europe.

When the Conservative Government came into office in England after the fall of the Labour Government, the head of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva was a Socialist

idealist, Arthur Henderson, who had been appointed by the Labour Government. But after this fell, it would have seemed logical for England to be represented by a Conservative. But nothing of the sort happened. He remained there and whom, may we ask, did he represent? From then onwards the League still persisted in representing the nations : it was in fact an international body of super-national Socialists, arming the world for 'Collective Security,' as the vague formula expressed it.

In 1917, during the régime of the Provisional Government in Russia, I had been attached to Arthur Henderson when he came to visit 'New' Russia. It appeared that West European Democracy wished him to replace Sir George Buchanan as Ambassador, whom they considered too old-fashioned, too much tied up with the hateful Tsarist régime. But in all fairness to Henderson, and to his credit, it must be admitted that as soon as he was on the spot he realized that he was incapable of filling the position and candidly and honestly refused to accept it. So that excellent British diplomat, Sir George Buchanan, was left to continue his work under the trying conditions of growing anarchy.

I met Mr. Henderson on his arrival at the Finnish station in Petrograd, and on leaving the train he immediately began to deliver an enthusiastic speech in English about the 'Achievements of the Great Russian Revolution,' couching his oration in superlatives of praise. It was hard to understand to whom these words were addressed, because nobody at the station, apart from a few of us officials, understood a word of English. But he did not mind. When we took him to the Hotel Europe, he soon found out all about the Achievements of the Revolution, for his luggage was gone : stolen, or socialized, to put it in modern terms. So he had to be fitted out again with clothes and suitcases.

During his stay in Moscow, where I accompanied him, he was continually talking about the Marvellous Achievements of the Revolution : his optimism and unbounded idealism made him blind to any facts. When we returned to Petrograd and I was seeing him off at the Finnish station, his luggage had disappeared a second time, so the Achievements of the Revolution caused him to leave the country with nothing more than the clothes he stood up in—practically everything else had been absorbed by the Revolution. But did that change him or sober him? No! And how could such a blind idealist, who persisted in thinking in terms of general formulas, be expected to bring the hard world of post-War Europe down to

the solid facts of disarmament? And what about the forty million national minorities in Europe alone, these pariahs of Versailles and similar conferences: could they hope for a square deal at Geneva? Most certainly not. *De jure* perhaps they had the right to protest, to sign petitions; but in the light of stern realities it was clear that the League was only there to uphold the *status quo* of Versailles, masking its activities under a veil of slogans and formulas.

True, the Covenant had its Paragraph 19, which contained the possibility of righting the injustices of a Treaty dictated by a desire for vengeance: but has this even once been honestly applied in the twenty years that have elapsed since then? Its application would have been quite impossible in view of the fact that the past master of World Revolution—Soviet Russia—crept into the Council of the League, Soviet Russia which regarded the Versailles *status quo* as the most favourable opportunity for sowing dissent and struggle in a restless post-War Europe, and for bringing the possibility of war and therefore of Revolution nearer to realization. Indirectly the League became an organization for enforcing causes of war, and in its daily work it showed neither quality nor constructiveness.

In the meantime, however, things continued of their own accord, each nation taking its fate in its own hands. Russia joined the League in order to mobilize all forces to work for the Versailles *status quo*, and Germany left it. The United States, after having helped Europe to embark on the venture, failed to keep their President's promise and never even joined it. Japan walked out. Italy, in order to make good what appeared to her a disgraceful inequality in Colonial expansion, launched her Abyssinian venture. The League threatened. Haile Selassie suddenly found an ally in the representatives of Soviet Russia, the peasants' and workmen's proletarian state. Germany reoccupied the demilitarized zones and conscription proceeded after the blunt refusal on the part of France to agree to an all-round limitation of armaments. Russia, armed to the teeth, proclaimed in Geneva that she stood for complete disarmament of the world—excluding Russia, I presume. Every country, fearing that the others would outstrip it in armaments, began to re-arm feverishly, on an unprecedented scale. Russia alone had a well-prepared programme and, faithful to her traditions, continued to undermine the world, utilizing every issue, every sign of discord.

Her great *coup*, which proceeded according to programme, was the push in Spain. Tooth and nail she fought at the Mon-

treux Conference for the right to take her navy out into the Mediterranean : this was necessary for the events which were to come in Spain at her instigation a few weeks later. She succeeded, because for the first time in centuries England gave way on a major issue, and gave up a position she had won in the Crimea in 1856, and confirmed at the Berlin Congress in 1879, when Russia, victorious against the Turks, had yet to give way to a united Europe under the farsighted leadership of Disraeli. But now her presence in the Mediterranean had become a sanctioned fact and she began her usual tactics in France, her military ally, by spreading revolutionary propaganda. In consequence of this the French hold over the Little Entente weakened, thus lessening French chances of a hegemony in that part of Europe which had been re-arranged by the Treaty of Versailles. Right along the line from the Border States down to the Powder Barrel of Europe, the Balkans, French influence was weakening.

Russia, in her desire to bring the Balkans into her orbit of influence, was stretching both arms out over Southern Europe. One embraced Constantinople by means of upholding Turkey in her efforts to control the Straits and to expand eastwards of her new capital, Angora, into Syria, while the other stretched out over Roumania to Czechoslovakia, in order to create a barrier against possible attack by Nazi Germany. Gradually the Balance of Power, the attainment of which has guided British policy for centuries, finding its expression in the Concert of European Powers, was changed into disorder and controversies : a precarious Balance of Disorder. And the League of Nations was a league of anything but well balanced national interests. National boundaries, cultural and economic relations, all were thrown into the melting-pot of super-national conceptions. It became in effect a weapon of social revolution, employing every imaginable device and playing up to the selfish interest of the Haves against the Have-Nots. True nationalism degenerated into super-national Chauvinism.

It was only natural that this Extremism, which found expression in the confused national and international relations of all countries, should give rise to some form of healthy reaction. Every nation reacted according to its history, character and tradition, whilst the disruptive forces used every device in their power to bring such national revivals to a standstill by means of international complications.

Here it would be interesting to examine who in this country believes in the unnatural and super-national League of Nations, and who believes in genuine national interests and

the principle of minding one's own business by means of finding a fair compromise between conflicting interests. The League of Nations theory is strongly upheld by the League of Nations Union, which follows its views to their logical conclusion by openly upholding the Bolshevist cause. It is now even under the auspices and direction of the World Peace Movement, which makes no secret of being an excrescence of the Third International. Beginning as a most respectable body striving after better ideals, it roped in millions of members. But when it began to uphold Bolshevik Russia, and opposed all that was anti-Bolshevik, these respectable members who had joined because they believed the organization was really working for the betterment of the world and humanity, simply left its ranks. Now that it has only several thousand members left it is in grave financial difficulties. The majority of these members are Extremists and idealists who are prepared to sacrifice everything—including their own country—for the sake of Utopia.

Then there are the Pacifists, within whose ranks one finds an increasing number of members of the Congress of Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R., an organization which aims at throwing dust in the eyes of the ignorant in true Soviet fashion, not even troubling to use the camouflage of attractive propaganda.

Another unreserved adherent of the Soviets is the United Front, which vaguely included Opposition Liberals, the now disbanded Socialist League, the Independent Labour Party, the Co-operatives—though one might logically ask why an organization apparently existing in order to simplify transactions between producer and consumer should meddle in politics—and last but by no means least various representatives of the Second and Third Internationals.

As for the Diehards, their attitude is worth noting, especially as they include two outstanding types: Winston Churchill and the Duchess of Atholl. Winston Churchill's support of the United Front is quite obvious, though indirect, and is connected with his support of the League of Nations and the League of Nations Union. His idea is that the League as it is to-day is a veil for a Franco-British alliance and also, in view of the Franco-Russian alliance, for an *entente* between England and Soviet Russia.

The United Front is also upheld by the clergy—Methodists, Quakers and so on—whose favourite formula is 'What Jesus Christ preached was applied to life by Lenin.'

The only reassuring point about this Left Wing-cum-Diehard

campaign of praise for Soviet Russia is that the great bulk of the middle class, upper or lower, stand aloof from it. This class, with its strong principles of true Conservatism, is not in the least affected by the beautiful pictures of the Soviet Paradise presented to it by radio, cinema, literature and the Press, and when some major issue arises they, with their innate common sense and love of individual freedom, repudiate it absolutely and completely. Whether this middle class belongs to the Conservative, Liberal or Labour Party, it represents the force of people standing solidly behind the true Conservative idea of this country, that is to say they recognize that the peace and freedom of the nation and the Empire do not depend on super-national Utopian agitation about things which do not concern them, but on the constructive Conservatism of the nation as a whole. In both cases I use the word Conservatism in its broadest sense, which implies an amalgamation of history, tradition, and progress.

To these various disruptive groups—however good their intentions may be—we might add those people who stand aloof from parties, yet who uphold the United Front for the purely personal reasons of wounded pride or other grievances. They make use of the slogans about Democracy, even though they know perfectly well that, should they ever come to power, the first thing to go overboard would be Democracy, in which they falsely confess to believe. They clutch at every issue, at home or abroad, and make capital of it for their own personal reasons.

The first thing these united forces of disintegration demand is the complete disarmament of their own country, babbling a lot of sentimental nonsense about England having to show an example, but with the next breath they demand war to be declared against Japan on the Manchukuo issue and against Italy on the Abyssinian issue. It is almost pathetic to see the I.L.P. Socialists and Communists kowtowing to Haile Selassie, who received aeroplanes from Mr. Litvinoff, and in return confers on him the highest Christian order of the Kings of Judah. After failing in these attempts to make war, they do their best in regard to Germany over the Spanish issue, wilfully closing their eyes to the fact that the interference of the Fascist State was the direct consequence of the Moscow *coup d'état* in Spain.

At home these people demand the suppression of private property and uphold Collectivism in the same breath as they praise Stalin for apparently having introduced private property. They know quite well that if collectivization is introduced, it

must be carried through wholesale, thus breaking up the existing order of things and culminating in Revolution and Communism. They regard national frontiers as the prejudices of a dead past. But it is for us foreigners to ask how in the face of this onslaught of propaganda the bulk of the British nation—the middle class—can judge between the good and the bad. What is class progressive co-operation and what is class warfare? What is sound evolution and what is destructive revolution? And why are sound nationalism and progress incompatible with Marxism, under whatever form it may present itself? It is not the sound logic of propaganda that attains results, the danger lies rather in the subconscious effect of the constant reiteration of slogans, an art in which the agents and friends of the Soviets are past masters.

I will only refer to the subtle propaganda diffused daily, hourly, from the strongest transmitting station in the world, that of Moscow. It is sufficient to pass an evening or two listening to your radio in this or any other country, for even on a cheap set Moscow can be distinctly heard; if you make a few notes of what is being said in English, French, German, Spanish, etc., you will get a distinct picture of how this reiterated propaganda is adapted to the audience to which it is addressed. And further, if you compare your notes with next day's newspapers, you will see how the propaganda has had its effect and has begun to take root.

The English broadcast from Moscow, for example, deals with the two or three topics that are known to interest a British listener: freedom of religion, education, the absence of unemployment in Russia, and advertisements of cheap trips to Russia so that you can 'come and see for yourself.' Then the broadcast goes on to attack the Nazis and Fascists, 'mischief-makers' of the world, and to praise the heroic deeds of the 'legally elected' Spanish Government. At the beginning of last year the Moscow Broadcasting Station asked any listener who had doubts, or who desired further information, to write a postcard asking questions or expressing criticisms, giving the assurance that such matters would be discussed in next week's broadcast. And it is then that the fun starts, for whether such postcards are sent or not, the replies come in masses.

The British listener is told that Mr. Smith of Tooting writes this, Mr. Jones of Clapham the opposite, but the true explanation of the problem is . . . and then follows a talk which is nothing more nor less than an appeal to individual and mass ignorance, of which the subconscious effect is all the more lasting because the speaker pretends to be discussing actual

letters. But the matter does not end here, for Mr. Jones of Clapham is told that if he writes, say, twenty postcards with questions, he will receive an artistic coloured print representing some episode of the Great Russian Revolution as an acknowledgment of the interest he takes in Russian progress. The more postcards he writes, the more and larger presents await him—perhaps even including a gratis trip to the Soviet Paradise or a collection of Lenin's works in any language.

Another scheme of the Moscow Broadcasting Station is to announce a competition, saying that on a certain date a few chapters of a story on a modern subject will be read, leaving the last chapter to be written by a listener. The best version, together with the competitor's name and the prize to be allotted, will eventually be announced in the broadcast. Even if only one-tenth per cent of England's 7,500,000 wireless subscribers listen to these Moscow talks, it means that 750 people are being subjected to propaganda. And what can they oppose to it, lacking knowledge and the ability to discriminate between fact and propaganda? And does British broadcasting do anything to counteract this diffusion of propaganda? No, its programmes are too overloaded with jazz and similar rubbish. The Press does nothing either, for it is filled with 'eyewitness' reports of the guests of Intourist, who 'were shown everything.'

The bookstalls, under the protection of the Left Literary Clubs, sell ten shilling books to their members at half-a-crown. In the newspapers the public can read either praise, or short notices of lawsuits in Moscow at which the criminals confessed, and received such and such a sentence. The natural reaction to this is to marvel at the efficiency of the Soviet régime which deals so well with swindlers. But nobody has ever explained that according to the strict letter of the Penal Code of Soviet Russia every inhabitant is a criminal! This whole game of propaganda is most unfair, as it presents one side and gives the listener no opportunity for hearing the other side.

As soon as the English broadcast from Moscow has finished, a similar one begins for French listeners, only in this case it is adapted to the French mentality. According to the English broadcast Russia is becoming democratic, moderate and, above all, peaceful, while the French are told about the formidable Red Army and how every soldier is prepared to fight against the aggressor, Hitler Germany. Hitler's activities are subtly represented as a preparation to attack France—in which case of course Russia's help could be relied upon. Red Spain is described as the ally of Soviet Russia and Popular Front France.

Hereupon follows a broadcast in German, during which everything in Russia is described in the rosiest colours. The great progress made by her is described and it is hinted that the Soviet Government is growing more Nationalist while remaining Socialist. Lately there have also been slight touches of Anti-Semitism included. From here it would need but one step further to describe Stalin as a Red Nazi!

Thus, using different languages for addressing different nations, Moscow follows the good old Communist policy: Each according to his needs. Even the words of the Internationale are translated differently according to the people intended to sing it.

Coloured people are obviously not forgotten in the Moscow broadcasts, and they are told about the dawn of freedom from the yoke of the European Imperialists and oppressors that will begin at the coming Congress of the Third International, for Moscow is naturally the protector of all oppressed coloured comrades. In this connection I would like to refer to the Scotsboro' case in America, for I had the opportunity of examing the original documents dealing with it. It was concerned with some Negro boys who took two white girls into an empty truck of a freight train, violated them and then threw them out on the track. The girls recovered, the case was proved against the boys, and they were both condemned to heavy sentences. Thereupon the whole world rose up in arms about the scandalous behaviour of the American courts in condemning 'innocent Negroes' because of racial hatred. The American Embassy in London received some two hundred letters a day asking for them to be reprieved, but the curious thing was that these letters, whether signed by Duchesses, clergymen, miners, or clerks, were all identical in their wording: they were obviously copies of a letter drafted by some organization. The final result of this campaign was that one of the girls, who had been violated according to medical evidence, made a declaration that she had given herself of her own free will. *Sic transit gloria justiciae!* The mother of one of the condemned Negroes travelled all through Europe lecturing and her tour was organized by Bolshevik Relief Organizations!

To sum up: In the Moscow broadcasts for France, the successful spreading of Communism and Revolution in France and Spain are boasted about with a view to making laggards make haste and join the winning side, as well as helping France against Hitler. For English listeners this detail is omitted for the time being, and only the democratic side is stressed. The

supporters of the United Front in this country in consequence make pathetic appeals for compromise in order to stop bloodshed in Spain directly the Reds appear to be losing ground. The intentions of these advocates of compromise may be quite honest, but I sometimes wonder how they would feel if their own families were being shot, their daughters violated, their property destroyed, and their churches desecrated. Then they would quickly change their tone. The definition given me by the Soviet author Maxim Gorki is particularly apt in their case. He said : 'The difference between the Russian and the Englishman is that the Russian thinks logically and acts illogically, but with the Englishman it is the other way round.'

With regard to the illogicality of life, I would like to quote some examples from life itself—one from the distant Russian past, the other from Weimar Germany.

Towards the end of last century a rich family of landowners, the Nepluieffs, filled with a primitive type of idealism decided to build an ideal commune for their peasants, in those days still serfs. They allotted sufficient land to the people and supplied them with all the necessary means and implements. Everything was common property, nothing belonged to the individual. Schools were built to educate the rising generations of the Nepluieff Agricultural Commune in the ideas of serving this primitive form of Socialist community. Huge subsidies were provided annually by the family in order to keep everything going. But after several fruitless decades the whole experiment collapsed as a material and psychological failure. While the Commune existed, the number of idiots born increased every year. Its members lost all energy, all interest in life, and so it simply died like an orchid in a field of less attractive but more natural wild flowers.

Many years later I was discussing this Nepluieff experiment with Professor Murray Butler of Columbia University, and he said that if you take a piece of land and level all its unevennesses with scientific precision, in course of time natural forces will cause valleys and hills to reappear. I thought this a most apt parallel, and one which should be pondered by Socialist and Communist Utopians who wish to treat the entire world with a Communist flat-iron. . . .

The second example comes within my own personal experience. During the time following the Great War in Germany, when many things were lacking, there was a special shortage of flats, partly because building had ceased during the War, and partly owing to the fact that increased industrialism was

attracting ever larger numbers of people to the towns. The Socialist Government, in its usual policy of ordering from above, founded the *Wohnungsamt*, or housing-bureau. This was a Government organization the duty of which was to deal with the registration of houses and flats and allot them in correct order. It took on immense proportions with an annual budget of some fifty million gold marks and had offices all over the place. In Berlin alone it had some thirty thousand available flats under its control every year, but the applications amounted to one and a half million. This meant that at the normal rate of building it would take fifty years to satisfy the existing list of applicants.

The *Wohnungsamt* then invented a complicated system of classification according to Urgent Cases, Emergency Cases, and so on. The flats in this category were those at modest rentals; those at higher rents were handed to whoever could afford to pay for them, but the majority of applicants belonged to the middle classes. The *Wohnungsamt* carried on its work with true German thoroughness and at the beginning helped matters, till in a few years it was completely snowed under in a maze of bureaucracy. To run it cost one hundred million gold marks, which would have been better employed in building houses for the applicants. Conditions changed, but they retained a system that was ruinous to the State Budget and useless to the citizens.

I myself applied for a flat in the ordinary way and my application-form was numbered 357,000—that meant that at the rate of thirty thousand a year my turn would come in about ten years' time. Then I succeeded in proving that my case was 'Urgent,' and got into the four-figure list, and finally I managed to get into the Emergency List. And after that I was officially informed that my application had been refused. As this information came from the highest authority, I realized that it was final. Next morning, however, I received by post a *Schein*, a permit to get the flat. I could not make head or tail of the whole business, for after the final refusal I had made no attempts to renew my application. The only explanation that occurs to me is that such a super-constructive Socialist system built up in a small capitalist country is eventually bound to be crushed under its own weight.

As soon as Hitler came to power with his Tiers État régime, new building schemes came into being that were based on private initiative but subsidized by the State. Things very quickly settled down. The majority obtained flats and the temporary huts in fields and gardens disappeared, to be

replaced by cheap modern blocks. This appears to me but one further proof that Socialist enterprises cannot be forced upon a capitalist system, even one shaken to the core by the long years of the Weimar experiment. It must be either one thing or the other, but a mixture of Socialism with private enterprise cannot work. This is understood by the leaders of Moscow and therefore they aim first at producing a clean slate throughout the world and only then will they enforce Socialism and Communism.

The examples I have given are not only applicable to the building of houses and flats, but to all realms of culture and civilization. It is a case of private initiative versus Collectivism. Of belief in God versus Atheism. Of family ideals versus international sexual laxity. Even art must be national. The Greek masters of our civilization thought nationally : international art is a myth—at any rate till now. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Marx's *Kapital* are poles apart. National revival is occurring everywhere as a reaction against Extremism. It cuts down the areas of unrest within one's own boundaries and deals with them in a national—and therefore effective—manner. National revival in England is expressed to us onlookers by the National Government, which is freeing the onward path of the nation from the excesses of the Right as well as of the Left, and is following the traditions of a parliamentary system which is the backbone of the middle classes, the mainstay of England.

The national revivals in Germany and Italy took different forms according to the character of the people involved in them, for Nazism and Fascism are entirely different both in their conception and in the application of their methods. Only think of a few of the beneficial and wholesome measures applied by Hitler to Germany and try and visualize an attempt to apply them in this country, and you will see the truth of the Russian proverb which says 'What is good for a German is death to a Russian, and vice versa.'

For instance, the Winter-help-scheme, which meant having a one-course lunch on the first Sunday of every month and giving the surplus money to the fund. This would never work in England, the idea would be dismissed as ridiculous by that individualist called the Englishman. Yet this does not mean that he is unwilling to help, as is proved by your admirable hospitals built and run exclusively by private charity, a thing that would be impossible on the Continent. Yet by the above method Hitler collected and distributed to the poor a sum which, reckoned at the rate of exchange existing inside Germany, equalled some £108,000,000 in three years.

Then there are the German Labour Camps. Everyone goes there and enjoys working for a future healthy race, looking on it as a sacred duty ; but in England this would be regarded as hard labour, as a prison. For you, games are not only a means of passing the time, they are a system for developing individuality and a sense of fair play ; in Germany they are regarded as a duty to the State, which disposes of your soul, your body, and your future, for it is the German view that your own strength and happiness lie in a strong State. Therefore comradeship is organized on a large scale, while in England it is a matter of taste.

In Germany, labour is provided by the State ; whether this is economical or not is another question, but the State is responsible and what it loses on the swings it gains on the roundabouts. In England there is private initiative, private enterprise, and free trade of everything, including labour. For the German, the pageantry of the army is a sacred duty ; in England it is a profession, or a tradition of sport on the battle-field. In the one case everything is *raison d'État :* the stronger the State, the more the individual will profit ; in the other the individual comes first and the stronger he is the more the State will profit.

National revival, which evolves from history, tradition, and endeavour, cannot be identical in both countries, and there can be no purpose in snapping your fingers in contempt at a national revival which happens to take a different form from your own. Lack of space prevents me from examining in detail the various forms of national revivals, which are constructive methods of combating international Extremism or, in other words, the constant struggle between evolution on the one hand and on the other International Revolution which aims at reorganizing the world without respect of history and national character.

I have tried to describe the various forms of national revival in different European countries, picking out the most typical and showing the methods adopted by the different peoples and nations for attaining the same aim. I therefore wish to complete the picture by describing a national revival of a different kind, yet similar in essence. This is the national revival of the Ukrainian nation.

Someone once said very truly that past politics are history and present history is politics, therefore it must become increasingly apparent to the student that the Ukrainian problem will develop into something extremely important within the next dozen years. What is, after all, a decade in the life of a nation,

which reckons its existence in thousands of years! The Ukraine will undoubtedly strangle world revolution at its basis, Red Moscow, and this will have repercussions on the rest of the world, Communist and non-Communist alike. This national revival began to take on tangible form in the border states. The true self-determination of nations—not the theoretical one of the vaunted Constitution of the U.S.S.R.—is crystallizing inside the Union among the nations that had their national independence in the past; it is a tradition and an endeavour which long years of oppression have developed into a devout militant creed.

In the Ukraine, in the lands of the freedom-loving Cossacks, in the land of historical chivalry and liberty of the Caucasus, these traditions are ingrained in the people like a fervent religion. It is the same amongst the rural population of Siberia, because under the Tsars the colonization of Siberia was carried out in a twofold manner: first, from Northern Russia came the semi-proletarians, the townspeople. They could not stand the severe climate of frost and storms, so they collected in the towns and their numbers gradually dwindled down. The second lot came from the Ukraine: strong, hard-working farmers, well trained in fighting the forces of nature. They stood the climate and gradually the rural population of Siberia, from Lake Baikal to Vladivostok, became 75 to 90 per cent Ukrainian, strong in their instincts of liberty. The national revival of the Ukrainian nation is a problem that is growing increasingly interesting, but so much propaganda has been used against it and it has been so much misrepresented in the eyes of the people of Europe, that it would only be fair to give a short summary of it.

Owing to the interdependence of the world, this problem is certain to become an important one and no efforts of the Bolsheviks or anyone else to isolate it will succeed. A Chinese student of history told me once that two thousand years ago a Communist experiment had been attempted in China. The old script had been found in which the programme was outlined. He told me with a smile that every paragraph was identical with the theories proclaimed by Lenin.

"What happened?" I asked.

Apparently, after a period of murder, bloodshed, famine, destruction of private property, order was restored, and for thirty years private property was declared sacred and anyone opposing it was liable to the death penalty. 'Nature does not like being tricked,' the student concluded.

On hearing this narrative I remember the saying that one

can lie and mislead the entire world once and mislead one man for all his life ; but it is impossible to lie and mislead the world for all one's life. Revolutions are vicious circles : they begin by destroying their enemies and end by devouring their friends. And finally they are themselves destroyed by the principles which they set out to suppress. Evolution is the great enemy of Revolution, even though it may take different forms in different countries. Wise compromise may prevail when the activating forces are similar ; when they are diametrically opposed to each other the result is usually stalemate. It is also true that one cannot take the second step before taking the first—and this is what impatient people are trying to do in our days. Acceleration is not civilization, as Baldwin rightly said. It only leads to overstrained nerves, lack of balance, physical and mental exertion, and mechanized movement where individuality and private initiative ought to prevail. In the next chapter we will deal with the past history of the Ukraine and its future role in the healthy development of the revival of nations.

VIII NATIONAL REVIVALS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

IN THE PRECEDING DESCRIPTION of national revivals in various countries I have endeavoured to show that this is the one and only constructive force which can successfully be used against International Extremism and its logical sequence —war and world revolution. It is only natural that such revivals should take different forms in different countries, as they are the outcome of different traditions and characters, but we must never forget that these forms are not the main issue. The main issue is the ultimate goal : to overcome the threat of revolution and war. If we wish to understand the situation in modern Europe, it is our duty to study these various forms of national revival and their reactions. I have done my best to give an outline of what is happening in various countries in order to erect a barrier against the encroachment of Extremism, which is threatening to overrun the world and build up a Red Utopia on the ruins of what we and the generations before us have held sacred and regarded as European civilization.

We have seen that in England a healthy national revival is taking shape, guided by an instinct born of centuries of parliamentary government. During these centuries England stood as an example to the rest of the world, and proved that more can be attained by progressive evolution than by revolution.

We saw how Germany, in the distant past always the scene of moving armies because of her lack of real frontiers, defeated in the Great War and subsequently a victim of Extremism, found her national revival in Hitlerism.

And we saw how Italy found it in Mussolini's Fascism, essentially a system enforced from above in a desire to reconstruct a neo-Roman Empire. She will, however, have to wait many years before achieving the results which have already become a fact in Hitler's Germany, where unification has been carried out and where there is the certainty that the rising generation will carry on the good work with a united will. Italian Fascism is a national revival of its own special kind, for the Imperialist idea of a re-born Roman Empire has given

an impetus to Mussolini's internal as well as external endeavours. As Italy was not defeated in the War, as she has only one religion, as she was never the object of direct attack by Extremists like Germany was, the path of national revival was rather more smooth, more of a compromise with the past, and therefore more evolutionary than was the case in Germany where it had to be attained by means of revolution.

In Germany it was therefore more intensive, more drastic—and, above all, more hateful for its victims, who had after all only themselves to blame for whatever happened to them. In Italy the dominating idea was, and still is, the traditional Roman Empire. But this is not yet an aspect that we can discuss, for we are too near the source, too near the issue involved. In Germany, where everything is governed by *raison d'État*, the well-being of the individual is only important because it leads to the well-being of the State. In England a state of ideal individualism exists : this comes first, and leads to the happiness of her fluctuating state form, Empire Commonwealth, or whatever one chooses to call it. Compromise and evolution are a *sine qua non* in view of the enormous distance separating the various compound elements of the Empire, their geographical conditions, and the differences in race and creed of the people inhabiting them. Thus national revival in England is only possible by means of evolution, for revolution would mean the end of the Empire as a whole, as well as of its separate compounds.

Now I would like to return to the discussion of another form of national revival, typical in my view, because it is the outcome of another form of history, tradition, and national character. This is the national revival of the Ukraine, interesting because the nation lies on the outskirts of Europe, forming a kind of wedge that cuts right into the Russo-Asiatic continent. The Ukraine is essentially European in outlook in spite of the Asiatic conditions on its very borders, which are the result of the conquest and annexation of her mighty neighbours. She has periodically attained to a state of independence, only to fall again under the rule of the hordes of well-organized Asiatic invaders from the north and east.

The National Revival of the Ukraine is now approaching its peak, which is very important in view of the revivals taking place in many European countries at the moment, and its progress is tending eastwards in spite of the artificial frontiers that have been drawn according to military or political necessity rather than to national tradition. Such frontiers

have always been the outcome of supernational ideals of short-sighted political interests of the moment.

The history of the Ukraine is a story of the constant struggle for independence, of strife with her restless and belligerent neighbours. On the one side there was Great Russia with her Asiatic traditions of conquest and subjugation, on the other was Poland with her Imperialistic eccentricities. Poland was weak within, and even weaker without, which explains her extremist ideas of expansion. Having acquired a very high degree of culture, the Ukraine, as far back as the eleventh century, was always in permanent and close contact with Western Europe. The daughters of her ruling princes married foreign monarchs. Thus Anne, daughter of Yaroslaw of Kieff, became Queen of France. One of her sisters married the Norwegian prince Harold, called the Brave, who later became King of Norway. The first wife of Yaroslaw was the daughter of the Swedish King, his second the daughter of the Emperor of Byzantium. This tradition of marrying into European royal families continued till the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the Kiev state (Ukraine) was overrun by Tartar invaders and was cut off from Western Europe for a couple of centuries.

After a long struggle the Ukrainians succeeded in freeing themselves from the Tartar yoke. This long-continued struggle for independence had resulted in the formation of a fighting class among the people known as the Cossacks, who were similar to West European knights. The Tartars were always advancing from the south, the Crimea, the Poles from the west, and the Great Russians from the north. Once the Tartar yoke was thrown off, the Ukrainians tried to make up for lost time and renewed the ties that had formerly linked her to Western Europe. For her communications she preferred to make use of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean rather than the land routes, which led through Poland, and which made her relations inclined to be haphazard owing to Polish aggressiveness.

Yet even so her ways of communication developed and her relations with Western Europe increased till she was definitely absorbed by Great Russia and became an integral part of the Empire of the Tsars in the eighteenth century, an Empire of which the traditions and political endeavours had tended eastwards while the Ukraine had always set her face towards the west.

Previous to this, the Lutheran Reformation at the beginning of the sixteenth century had had a considerable influence in

the religious life of the Ukraine. This religious life had always been based on freedom, so no obstacles were placed in the spreading of Luther's teaching. In Great Russia, on the contrary, it was not permitted because Russian Imperialism was a very rigid form of absolutism which, as I have explained elsewhere, regarded the Church as a mere instrument in the hands of the ruling class. The relations between the independent Ukraine and Western Europe were also increased because many Ukrainians went to study in the universities of the West, and many Europeans came to Kiev. This process continued to such a degree that about two hundred years after the country had been absorbed by Great Russia, that is, at the outbreak of the Great War, there were still some 700,000 German colonists established there. Apart from these colonists, many noted European scientists also came, such as Innocentius Gizel, who made a great name for himself in the seventeenth century by his research work. He was elected president of the Kiev Academy, and was the author of the first systematic history of Eastern Europe, and finally became Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. As long ago as the sixteenth century the Kiev Academy published books and papers in European languages. From Germany, the Ukraine procured first-class soldiers, as for instance General Kenigsen, Military Adviser to the Hetman Mazeppa. The Germans also taught the Ukrainians the art of metalwork and the manufacture of firearms.

It is interesting to note that the Ukrainians who went to study in Kiel, Königsberg, Göttingen, Paris, or Oxford invariably came from the middle strata of the population, while the few Russians who studied abroad belonged to the thin upper layer of the aristocracy. It is also interesting that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many Ukrainian towns modelled their lives and administrations on the Magdeburg Law regulating the West European burghs of those days. It must not, however, be supposed that this process of influence was entirely one-sided, for the Ukrainians also played their part in influencing Europe. Thus, in 1658, a Greek Orthodox parish was founded in Königsberg, East Prussia, for the benefit of those Germans who had embraced the Orthodox faith. Many Ukrainian scientists also made names for themselves in Western Europe, such as the Kiel professor, Ivan Poletika (eighteenth century). Economic ties also increased and from the fifteenth century onwards Königsberg, Danzig, and Breslau were important centres of Ukrainian trade. Through these cities the Ukraine exported cereals, timber, cattle, wax, fish,

furs, etc., while she imported linen, iron, wine, beer, and amber. In order to assist this commerce periodical fairs were held in Kiev, Jaroslav, Lwow, Przemysl, and other Ukrainian towns.

In those days also the Ukraine played an important part in diplomatic relations. Thus Wallenstein (1583–1634) sought for her support, and later the Hetman Bogdan Hmelnitzky (1648–1657) concluded a friendly understanding with the Elector of Brandenburg, and another with Sweden in 1655. Later the Hetman Wigowsky concluded alliances with the German Protestant countries, and in 1683 the Ukrainian Cossack armies stood by Austria in her distress and helped to free Vienna from the Turks.

For centuries this yeoman class of Cossacks protected the Ukrainian lands, enabling a strong and prosperous class of farmers to grow up and cultivate the richest soil in the world—the Black Soil belt. It was the prosperous farming class and the well-trained army, in fact, that permitted the development of a high degree of culture in the population. It is sufficient to mention that in the eighteenth century the Ukraine had more elementary and secondary schools than in the twentieth century, when it formed part of the Tsarist Empire.

After the rise to power of Moscow, and under the pressure of Polish aggression, the independent life of the Ukraine was undermined by an alliance with Great Russia. Independence was more and more curtailed, till finally the Hetmanship—a Hetman is a Constitutional Ruler—was entirely abolished in 1756 and the Ukraine incorporated in the growing Russian Empire. The policy of Russification which was more strictly enforced from year to year naturally strengthened the anti-Russian attitude of the Ukrainians, of whom many were obliged to leave the country as a result of persecution. But their opportunity came with the downfall of the Russian Empire in 1917, and many émigrés returned to their country and its traditional form of independence under the elected Hetman. This Hetman, Paul Skoropadsky, was the descendant of the last independent Hetman of the eighteenth century, Ivan Skoropadsky, and was elected in April, 1918, by 8,000 delegates of the Peasant-Farmers Organization, known as the Toilers of the Soil.

The election of the Hetman coincided with important events in Western Europe, where the countries were still at war with each other. It was then that the Central Powers, having concluded the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Bolsheviks, invaded the country. (The Bolsheviks, I would like to point

out, regarded this Treaty in the same way as they later regarded the Treaty of Versailles : as a stimulus to World Revolution.) The occupying armies, however, did not trust the Hetman and his Conservative state, and would not allow him to have any army of his own, so that when they were defeated by the Allies and their country was plunged in revolution, they evacuated the Ukraine and left the Hetman Government to face the advancing Moscow Bolshevik troops without an organized army to support it.

After an unequal struggle lasting four months, during which the Socialists, the Pinks, and the Extremists all joined hands against the Hetman, the Ukraine fell under the domination of Soviet Moscow and was declared a Soviet Socialist Republic, part of the U.S.S.R. Hereupon a Terror, unprecedented in the history of humanity, was deliberately carried out with an equally deliberate famine in order to destroy the Ukrainian nation. This was done by order of the Moscow leaders, whose efforts were applauded by their friends abroad, the same people who organized all the various bogus societies for helping the Ukraine. But the societies were in reality branches of the Third International intended to blind public opinion to the true state of the complicated campaign of intrigue carried on by Moscow.

From the point of view of race, the Ukrainians are exceptionally pure, for in the distant past they never mingled with the Mongolians. Thus the average height of the Ukrainian is 1·670 m., whereas in the neighbouring countries we find that the average height of the Russian is 1·657 m., of the Pole 1·654 m., and of the White Russian 1·651 m. The Ukrainians are directly descended from the Cossack families, who are particularly tall, with an average height of 1.701 m. But perhaps most of all the Ukrainians differ from their neighbours in the shape of their skulls, which is definitely of the brachycephalic type, while that of the Russians, Poles, and White Russians tends towards the dolichocephalic. It is also of interest that the Ukrainian language with its highly developed literature approaches more closely to the Serbo-Croat than to any other Slavonic language. It is an established fact that the Ukrainian peasant has at his command a vocabulary of some 3,000 words as opposed to the 300-350 words of the average peasant of other countries.

Another characteristic trait of the Ukrainian, which I have already touched upon, is his strong religious feeling. The majority of wars in which the nation was engaged during its period of independence were closely connected with the

Greek Orthodox religion, for their neighbours were either Catholic Poles, whose religion was always militant and imperialistic, or Mohammedan Turks, and therefore enemy invasions were always accompanied by the destruction of churches. When the Ukraine was incorporated with Tsarist Russia, all autonomous rights of her Church were abolished, mainly because her monasteries were the centre of a strongly developed Ukrainian culture. According to her yeoman tradition, one son of the family always went into the Army, another into the Church, and the third became a farmer. The Academy of Kiev, as well as all schools in the independent Ukraine, were founded and directed by the clergy. When Russia annexed the Ukraine and introduced the Greek Orthodox Church under the Synod, a Government body, the Church lost its hold over the masses because, as I have already pointed out, it was merely an instrument in the hands of the Tsars in their policy of Russification.

All this goes to prove that the basic element of the Ukrainians was nationalism. As oppression increased, this strong nationalism developed into a genuine religious feeling, so that national revival always went hand in hand with a religious one. In 1918, during the short period of independence under the Hetman, the Ukrainian Church regained its original form ; but for the past twenty years, since the country was overrun by the Soviets, this has been replaced by an unrelenting religious persecution on the part of the Atheist Soviet Government, which took control of the country by force of arms.

Ukrainian relations with Western Europe had always been strengthened by the fact that the religion of the people is Greek Orthodox of a very liberal description as compared with the rigid form prevailing in Great Russia ; then there are some seven million Uniats recognizing the Pope, and half a million Roman Catholics. All these form religious links such as never existed in Great Russia. Under the Tsars, the publication of the Bible was prohibited in the Ukrainian language till 1905, whilst Tsarist Ministers, such as Valuieff, made themselves famous by the decree that ' the Ukrainian language does not and must not exist.'

The self-determination of nations proclaimed by the Soviets was, is, and always will be mere bluff to hoodwink the credulous, for directly they get military control over a country these promises are cancelled. It is sufficient to point out that Moscow keeps over seventeen Red Army divisions and 100,000 special troops of the Comvnudel (former Cheka) in the Ukraine, and that the administrative body of the Ukrainian Soviet

Republic consists of 80 per cent Jews and 20 per cent Russians —all nominees of Stalin—and not one single Ukrainian. And yet there exists paragraph 3 of the old and paragraph 117 of the New Constitution, according to which any republic can leave the Union by means of a simple declaration !

In view of such persecution it is no wonder that the Ukrainians have scattered all over the world. Over 33 million are still under the Soviet Russian yoke, but 7 million are in independent Poland (where Poles apply to them the same system that the Tsarist Government applied to the Poles : oppression and denationalization) ; about a million are in Roumania, and half a million in Czechoslovakia. Of Ukrainian farmers some 100,000 have settled in Manchukuo, one and a half million in the United States, 500,000 in Canada, where we are the third largest nationality, and many thousands more have spread to other parts of Europe, South America, and elsewhere. All of us are strong in nationalism, strong in religion and, as a yeoman farming class, strong in the instincts of private property, and wherever we may be we dream of an independent Ukraine. The saying that Democracy becomes Conservative when it has something to conserve is particularly applicable to us, and can be explained by the wealth of our country. This point of view is worth pondering over, as there can be no doubt that the Ukrainian problem is a significant one for the future world.

The following points may be of interest : During the period of independence of the Ukraine, her two imperialist neighbours, Great Russia and Poland, grew so strong that she had to choose one of them as an ally to protect her against the other. She chose Great Russia because her religion was the same, and in 1654 the Hetman Bogdan Hmelnitzky signed an act of *Personal Union* with Moscow. This Personal Union recognized the equality of rights of both allies as well as their complete independence. From then onwards Northern Russia grasped at every favourable opportunity to encroach on the rights of her ally and occupy her territories under the pretext of helping her against an external enemy.

In time the position became so intolerable that the Hetman Mazeppa, who has been so magnificently described by your poet Byron, decided to throw off the yoke of this ally. He came to an agreement with Charles XII of Sweden and declared war on the Russia of Peter the Great, and at the decisive Battle of Poltava in 1709 the allies, Sweden and Ukraine, were completely routed. From then onwards the Ukraine became the object of direct and indirect encroachment

on the part of Russia, who attacked her privileges, her territories and her rights till, after the death of the last independent Hetman, Ivan Skoropadsky in 1722, the overpowered Ukraine had to submit to the will of Russia under Catherine the Great in 1764, when the Hetmanship was abolished, and later the country was divided into administrative districts, the same as the rest of Russia.

Hereupon the denationalization of the people was carried on indiscriminately; monasteries, churches, schools, were closed or passed into the hands of Moscow nominees: great tracts of land were given away to favourites of the Russian Court. The Cossacks, who still retained their privileges, were banned to the distant Caucasus or the Kuban areas, where they had to fight for new territories to be annexed to Tsarist Russia. And by the nineteenth century One and Indivisible Russia, with one religion, one language, and one outlook, was declared to be in existence. After this, all non-Russian nations of the Russian continent were either ridiculed and given derogatory nicknames, or else simply declared to be Russians and their local language prohibited.

Only compare this to the glorious display of might and power of the British Empire, this Commonwealth of Nations, at the recent Coronation, showing how by the recognition of local parliaments, habits, religion, culture, all parts of the Empire are more strongly linked up with the Mother Country, while in Tsarist Russia all that was not Russian was ridiculed and oppressed. What a contrast!

It was not until 1905, after the first Revolution, that the great Russian statesman, Witte, allowed the Ukrainians to publish the Bible in their own language. But all this persecution had two results:

1. Ukrainian national consciousness, far from submitting, took on the essence of martyrdom, and as such became a strong creed. Chauvinism developed, so that instead of demanding only autonomy and certain rights, the people demanded *complete independence*. This in its turn led to still greater persecutions, and the national issue became the main issue. It was a case of a familiar psychological reaction: endeavours at autonomy lead to suppression, and this leads to demands for complete secession. The national spirit was alive in the Ukrainians in spite of a century of subjugation. Secret political and literary societies were formed inside and outside the country, and this brings us to the second result:

2. The extraordinary phenomenon of Conservative Ukrainians, with their old traditions of religion and patriotism,

suddenly joining the Revolutionary Extremists in Tsarist Russia. The reason for this was, however, simple, for it was the only way in which the people could protest against Tsarist persecution. Besides, the Ukrainians thought that the downfall of the Empire would free their country, therefore anything that contributed to such a downfall—even including Revolutionary Extremism—must be regarded as an ally by force of circumstances.

The Ukraine saw her opportunity in the Revolution of 1917, and first modestly, and then more and more persistently, demanded her independence. When the Russian Provisional Government weakened, she actually became independent, but under a Socialist Government. Socialist sounded like a paradox, yet it was the natural outcome of the *mariage de convenance* of the Conservative Ukrainian patriot and the Extremists.

The Extremists, according to all rules of revolution, grew increasingly Extreme, and enforced on the Ukrainians a programme contrary to all their Conservative traditions. In order to be able to enforce this against the will of the population, they signed the separate peace of Brest-Litovsk with the Central Powers, who, suffering from the Allied Blockade, very naturally wanted the Ukraine for purposes of food supplies. They moved their armies into the Ukraine as allies of the Socialists on an understanding of mutual help: the Central Powers were to receive the badly needed foodstuffs, while the Socialists were to have the support of German and Austrian troops in enforcing Socialism on the Conservative nationalist farming population. But it was not long before the Central Powers realized the chaos and revolution that this caused. Their tired troops, which had come to the promised land of the Ukraine, were to help the Socialists in power to put down risings, a position which struck the Germans and Austrians as abnormal. By that time the Ukrainian middle class, consisting of the farmers, landowners and Cossacks, formed their traditional emergency-detachments known as the Free Cossacks, while the agricultural population formed itself into the Toilers of the Soil.

The Socialists in power, as well as their allies, the German and Austrian troops, were quite helpless, and the German and Austrian Command tried, in view of the chaos and bloodshed, to get into contact with the genuine local Ukrainian organization, and an understanding followed. The occupying armies promised to remain neutral on condition that the National forces coming into power would recognize the obligations in-

curred by the so-called Ukrainian Socialist Government. Once that was arranged, 8,000 delegates of the Ukrainian Conservative groups of peasants, Cossacks and landowners, assisted by a few detachments of Free Cossacks, overthrew the hated Socialist regime so alien to all their traditions, and decided to revert to the traditional Hetmanship. Therefore Paul Skoropadsky, descendant of the last Independent Hetman of the eighteenth century, was unanimously elected and anointed in the traditional manner in the thousand-year-old Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev, the cathedral which had witnessed the past glory of the independent people, and now witnessed its rebirth in the twentieth century.[1]

The basis of the regime introduced by Paul Skoropadsky was in accordance with the tradition of the people, and was fourfold :

1. Strong nationalism : national schools, universities, theatres ; national customs, habits and dress in public, social and family life ; family tradition was restored.
2. Everything possible was done to strengthen the middle class of the agricultural population. An agrarian law reform was worked out for buying the large estates from landowners and dividing them amongst the peasants.
3. A parliament, or Seym, to be elected.
4. Religion and churches to be restored to their honourable positions and religious tolerance declared.

In spite of the chaos that had undermined the entire country during the short period of Socialism in 1917 and 1918, the Ukraine soon found her bearings again under the Hetman. The population of 30 million is 82 per cent rural, and therefore strongly Conservative. Of the 453,481 square kilometres of the Ukraine 90 per cent were cultivated even under the Tsar, and two-thirds of that was owned by the rich peasant class. By means of his agrarian reform the Hetman intended to strengthen that class even more by giving it credits and more land. Ukrainians formed by far the largest proportion of the population, i.e. 80 per cent, while 9 per cent were Russian, 5 per cent Jews, 2½ per cent Germans ; Tartars, Poles and other nationalities made up the rest. It is clear that such an overpowering majority was a great asset for a policy of national revival ; all the same, the minorities were treated well, especially as their national aspirations could not

[1] In 1938 this cathedral, which was of great historical and artistic value, and had withstood the invasions of Mongolian and Tartar hordes, was destroyed by order of the Moscow Soviets.

play a numerically important part, or threaten those of the Ukrainians.

As for the Jews, we have always treated them fairly, and even assisted them in the days when they were persecuted under the Tsars. Oddly enough, we Ukrainian landowners were often in the same position as the Jews under the Tsar for, like them, we were considered the scapegoats for anything that went wrong. The Ukrainian national movement and the Jews were always jointly blamed. Pogroms against the Jews and against the Ukrainian landowners were always started together. The majority of the people did not actively dislike the Jews and were always ready to help those in need, yet it is most significant that as soon as the Bolsheviks came to power the Jews invariably sided with the Soviets—not only inside the Soviet Union, but outside as well. We were slandered by them and became the object of a campaign of lies, it being said that we were Jew-baiters, instigators of pogroms, and so on. In the world press a hue and cry was raised against us, and political murders followed as a result. This attitude of the Jews can only be explained by the fact that, whatever party we belong to, we are the very antithesis of Bolshevism and Sovietism, while they are invariably pro-Soviet, either directly or indirectly. Indeed a most ominous state of affairs.

During the Hetman regime the percentage of farmers increased considerably. The main produce of the Ukraine consisted in wheat, barley, oats, rye and potatoes, and amounted to some 25 million tons per annum. Apart from this, the country produced 60 million gallons of 40 per cent potato alcohol per annum and exported 60,000 hogsheads of tobacco. One hundred and ninety-seven sugar refineries were supplied with home-grown sugar beet and, after providing all that was needed for home consumption, 700,000 tons of sugar were exported to Russia and 140,000 to other countries.

The wealth of the country had always attracted a considerable amount of foreign capital, and during the Hetman regime a special commission was appointed in order to decide what proportion of the debts contracted by the former Russian Empire was to be allocated to the Ukraine when she became independent. It was then decided that she was to be responsible for 25 per cent of these debts. This again is a characteristic of the Ukrainians, for as they have always upheld the principle of private property, they have always paid their debts—and this cannot be said either of Russia or of many other states of post-War Europe. The same commission dis-

covered that foreign capital had been directly invested in the Ukraine in the following amounts :

Belgium	. . .	67,000,000 gold roubles
France	. . .	73,000,000 ,, ,,
England	. . .	22,000,000 ,, ,,

(£ = 9·47 roubles)

But before there was time for these debts to be repaid, the Hetman regime collapsed for two reasons. First, the occupying forces did not trust the Hetman as he was an ardent Ukrainian patriot, and the situation might arise when Ukrainian interests would have to be opposed to those of Germany, in which case an Ukrainian army under a brilliant soldier such as the Hetman would be a strong argument in the hands of an independent Ukraine. That he was a brilliant soldier was proved by the fact that he had commanded a Russian Corps on the German front and was remembered by the Central Powers for his invasion of East Prussia and his successful cavalry charge against a German artillery position. In the second place, the Bolsheviks, who had enormous funds at their disposal, undermined the country from within and, directly the Germans and Austrians retired, they invaded the country with their Red Army that had been ready waiting at the frontier.

Although the Ukraine is in the main an agricultural country, her supplies of minerals are very important, and it is estimated that her coal reserves are sufficient to last her one hundred and fifty years at a rate of consumption equal to that of the United States, while her supplies of anthracite are equal to the combined supplies of the rest of Europe, Africa, America and Australia. The calorific value of her peat is equal to that of wood and costs less. She has considerable deposits of iron ore not far distant from the coal-fields, especially in the Krivoy Rog mines, of which the annual output reached 6,300,000 tons before 1913. Seventy-eight per cent of the total iron ore of the Tsarist Empire was produced by the Ukraine, and 98 per cent of the anthracite. She has several salt-fields, notably the Brianzevsky area, which measures 45 by 25 kilometres with a depth of 46 metres. There are large manganese deposits, especially at Nicopol, producing 300,000 tons per annum, although its quality is below that of the Chiatoury mines in the Caucasus.

There are 22,900 kilometres of rivers in the Ukraine, of which 27 per cent are navigable for boats, 67 per cent for rafts. They flow into the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, where there

are sheltered ports such as Odessa, Nicolaieff, Theodosia, Taganrog, Mariupol and Novorossik.

During the nine months that the Hetman régime lasted the country recovered so rapidly that in spite of the War continuing in Europe £81,000,000 of goods were exported to foreign countries, and £52,000,000 worth imported. And in spite of all these riches, what have the Soviets done during the past twenty years, while the Ukraine has been subjected to the Moscow experiment? They have carried out deportation, exile, terror, starvation (so in 1933 about six million died of starvation in this granary of Europe), finally giving up all attempts to build it up again, so that to-day Moscow spends less on the running of Ukrainian industries than she spends every year on Moscow alone.

It is clear that the Moscow leaders realize that some day the Ukraine will break away, so that for the time being they treat her as an enemy country occupied by military force and take all they can from her so that she may sink to the condition of an enfeebled opponent. Even rivers such as the Dnieper enter into the Soviet scheme merely as reservoirs for the water-supply of the Volga and the Urals, thus robbing the Ukraine of the water power which she herself needs.

But the Ukrainians living outside the U.S.S.R., as well as the population still living on its traditional land, are all united in the desire to regain their national independence and freedom. As they are a strong middle class of yeoman stock they will no doubt succeed in time. Here again we see the signs of a national revival of the middle class, but rural in this case, not urban as in Germany, nor a combination of urban and rural as in present-day England. The Ukrainians in Russia and Poland are now victims of a system of oppression and denationalization, but the more religion and national tradition are oppressed, the more militant they become, and I have already shown how national revival is increasing in spite of oppression in other states. Quite recently, and simultaneously with a ruthless campaign of annihilation undertaken against the Ukrainians by the Soviet Government, the Poles have also multiplied their efforts in this direction. Thus in Galicia, Volhynia and Podolia—i.e. purely Ukrainian territories under Polish rule—the Poles have destroyed 152 Greek Orthodox Ukrainian churches and thousands of Ukrainian patriots are rotting in Polish prisons. As I have already said, Poland and Soviet Russia are working hand-in-hand to destroy every vestige of the Ukraine. The agents working for this aim are usually assisted and subsidized by both Poland

and the Soviets at one and the same time. Thus Poland has neither forgotten nor learnt anything from her historical past which led to partition and foreign domination.

One of the measures adopted by Soviet Moscow to combat normal national revival are the 'anti-Bolshevik' organizations. Among these are the so-called Ukrainian Friendly Societies, which are founded and managed by friends of Moscow. The Poles, who have begun to realize that their imperialist plans of subjugation are being threatened by Ukrainian revival, have also started building up such quasi pro-Ukrainian societies and parties to the detriment of the genuine Ukrainian cause. Thus Poland and Soviet Russia are tacitly acting in agreement with each other. The results of such a state of affairs are often paradoxical in appearance.

I will quote an example taken at random. The Anglo-Ukrainian Committee in this country, for example, the purpose of which is apparently to uphold the idea of an independent Ukraine, is full of avowed friends of the Soviet Union and all that it stands for. These bureaux, committees, etc., assert that they are supporting the Ukrainians : they wish them to become independent of both Poland and Russia. But at the same time they organize lectures in London to which the exponent of the Polish point of view is invited—this happens to be an Ukrainian who is a paid official of the Polish Government. How can anyone, therefore, be expected to believe that such a committee is going to stand by the Ukrainian cause against Poland and Russia? It is all nonsense and goes to prove that the friends of Moscow are trying to bring the Ukrainian movement under the control of the forces that for the past twenty years have been trying to destroy the Ukrainian nation both in the Soviet Union and in Poland.

But in spite of all opposition the revival is flourishing, all the more so as opposition increases. This increasing force of the nationalist revival explains the hysterical campaign of lies, slander and intrigue that is being directed against the genuine Ukrainians who, they say in England, are the agents of Germany and wish to hand their country over to Hitler. In France they also say that the Ukrainians are German agents who are trying to undermine the Franco-Soviet pact, while in Germany we are called the agents of the Entente Powers. But the fact remains that we are neither pro-English, nor pro-French, nor pro-German ; we are pro-Ukrainian pure and simple—and therein lies our strength.

Bolshevism and all it stands for is our most deadly enemy and we are fighting it with the weapon of a genuine national

revival. Our theoretical and practical knowledge of Bolshevism constitutes a very real danger to the Soviets and their agents abroad, and for this reason the scorn of the gods is called down upon our heads. Nevertheless, armed with increasing knowledge and experience, we move steadily on towards our goal. This goal is the same for the whole world, only it is still too blinded by propaganda to realize it, for it consists in the constructive national revivals for the benefit of European civilization and the stability of the world as a whole.

If the peace of the world is indivisible, then it follows that the revolutionary work of the world is equally indivisible: we are well aware of this, and continue to work for our salvation by national revival, each nation following the path dictated by its traditions and character. In the case of us Ukrainians, it is the Conservative yeoman tradition that guides us. This is based on the rural middle class, the farmer's instinct of private property as opposed to Collectivism, of strong religious feeling as opposed to Soviet Atheism, nationalism as opposed to supernational World Revolution. In the border states the national revival of the middle classes is already well under way. The frontier drawn between Europe and Soviet Russia is not a true boundary in the ethnographic, psychological, or economic sense: it is rather accidental or artificial, and all along it the process of self-determination of nations is going on. The Ukraine has a tradition of national independence in her past history, but countries such as Latvia and Esthonia, which were not independent previously, have succeeded in forming themselves into national states in spite of the active interference of Bolshevism.

The reversion to genuine Conservatism which characterizes the national revival of the Ukrainians is becoming more and more noticeable, whether they are in the Soviet Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Canada, Manchukuo, or in any of the Soviet territories between Lake Baikal and Vladivostok.

There are also similar processes going on amongst other nations within the Soviet Union: I am referring to the peoples of the Cossack lands and the Caucasus, who are quite undeterred by even the most attractive forms of societies for the protection of national minorities presented to them by the Soviets. They are quite capable of distinguishing between a true friend and an enemy disguised as a friend.

Amongst the Ukrainians the clan spirit is very strongly developed, and it is therefore exceedingly difficult to hoodwink us by tales of some wonderful Ukrainian patriot, as many Russians try to do, telling us about this particular person's



Associated Press Photo

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good record, of his relationship to the Tsar, that he had the biggest diamonds and the largest estates in Russia. We are not taken in by such tales, for we all know each other and know each other's family history to the smallest detail. The bulk of that stock is still living, either in the Ukraine or elsewhere, and however difficult contacts may be we yet manage to keep them up, for we are all united by our boundless veneration for our country and our traditions.

The Cossacks, who for various reasons settled on the outskirts of the Russian Empire in the distant past, have always been united, for they always had to face the dangers of war and invasions together. Their love of freedom and hatred of any form of subjugation kept them in a continual state of guerrilla warfare, and they were always ready to welcome those fleeing from persecution and oppression, such as Turks, Kalmuks, even Swedes and Prussians, or else serf peasants who had managed to escape from their Russian landowners. (Serfdom, it must be noted, was unknown amongst the Cossacks, except in cases of prisoners of war.) These refugees never came to be accepted as Cossacks, but were known by the special description of 'Strangers,' and formed a class of workmen on Cossack property.

The Cossacks themselves were of yeoman stock and always preserved their integrity against pressure from without. It is interesting to note that according to the latest Soviet statistics, 55 per cent of the Don Cossacks are Ukrainians, 45 per cent Russians. The lands of the Don Cossacks were independent from 1549 to 1720, when they were incorporated in the Russian Empire, and there they remained until the Revolution of 1918, when they again declared their independence. During their independence prior to 1720 they concluded treaties of friendship and military alliances with the Moscow rulers, later recognizing their own position as vassals of Moscow. Autonomy then followed, and finally incorporation. But this incorporation was accompanied by numerous revolts every time the Don Cossacks considered that their rights were being infringed by Russia, notably in 1772, 1792, and 1793, till at last the Tsar's Decree of 1835 declared them to be a military autonomous unit under the direct orders of the Tsar.

When the Revolution of 1917 once more gave them their independence, they elected their chief, or Ataman, at a military congress and called themselves an independent state, the Great Cossack Don. Then they made efforts to conclude treaties with other Cossack lands, as well as with the Hetman of the Ukraine. Then, however, the Bolsheviks sent an army

into their country to subjugate them. Risings against the Bolsheviks occurred similar to those in the Ukraine, and this led to entire villages being exterminated by Red Terror, while guerrilla warfare broke out everywhere, as the traditional freedom of the Cossacks was and is incompatible with Bolshevik subjugation.

Farther eastwards are the lands of the Kuban Cossacks. These people are historically interesting and form a vital part of the Ukrainian problem. In the tenth century the Kiev princes colonized this part of the country, and centuries earlier still their names are mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny as among the population of the same territory. As the great trade routes from Europe to Asia ran through the Kuban lands, the Kiev princes regarded them as very precious, and often waged wars in order to protect them. The Kiev prince was always the head of the Kuban territories. During the Tartar invasion the Kuban lands were devastated and the population exterminated, but when the Tartar yoke was eventually shaken off the Ukrainian Cossacks remembered their old Kuban colonies, re-conquered the country and populated it with their own people.

The defeat of the Ukrainian Cossacks by the Russian armies in 1775, and the Russian occupation of the Cossack strongholds on the Dnieper Rapids, forced many to emigrate to Turkey; but they returned later and settled on the Kuban lands. This was welcomed by Catherine the Great, who recognized them as good warriors capable of protecting the country against foreign invasion, and in order to reinforce them she sent a detachment of 17,000 Ukrainian Cossacks over to the Kuban. This peculiar method of colonization was also adopted by the Russian Tsars in 1806 and 1828: in 1808, 25,000 Ukrainians with women and children were sent to the Kuban, followed during the next forty years by 100,000 more men, who were later followed by their women.

The same sequence occurred in the Terek lands. They obtained their freedom after the Russian Revolution, organized themselves in the same manner as the Don Cossacks had done, and also signed treaties with the independent Ukraine. The Bolsheviks also overran their country, but although the risings against the invaders failed, their spirit still lives, and the Terek Cossacks are only waiting for the right moment to come.

The Cossacks all love their freedom, their country and their religion, and Communist Moscow is a constant menace to these.

Farther east of the Terek are the Astrakhan, Ural, and

Orenburg Cossacks, and their hatred of Bolshevism is constantly being proved by guerrilla warfare and risings. The various branches of the Cossacks consist of more than eight million people and their development largely depends on the future of the Ukraine on the one hand, and of the people of the Caucasus on the other. These latter are also a freedom-loving people, whose culture and clan tradition are thousands of years old. The Caucasus is the cradle of many of the European nations. In their inaccessible mountains the people live with their traditions and their veneration of personal liberty, so incompatible with Soviet slavery.

In order to hoodwink the foreign guests of Intourist, Stalin and his friends organize displays of horsemanship by soi-disant Cossacks, showing the spellbound tourists Soviet officers dressed up in picturesque travesties of the Cossack uniform; but those who know them, know that they have no connection with the bulk of the Cossack population or with their traditions. All such displays are well-organized camouflage for the benefit of outsiders. The Cossacks know it and laugh to themselves.

Here an incident occurs to me which proves that *plus çéla change, plus c'est la même chose.* It was before the War, when I was one of the Foreign Minister's secretaries. One of my duties was to sort the papers before the daily report to the Minister, handing to him all necessary documents. Among my papers I had found a number of foreign telegrams and secret reports which had been decoded by our Black Cabinet. One of these was a report from Count Pourtalès, the German Ambassador, to his Foreign Minister, in which he was replying to instructions concerning the establishment of friendly relations with the opposition to His Majesty, i.e. the Duma. In his reply he bluntly stated that he did not see the necessity for this as 'the Tsar is firmly established, the position strong, he personally on friendly terms with the Tsar, and therefore why meddle with the opposition?' But as the instructions were repeated, drawing the Ambassador's attention to the fact that the British and French Ambassadors were making friends with the opposition, he at length invited to the Embassy a certain Jew correspondent of the *Retch*—organ of the Duma Liberal circles. In those days very few people really knew how unstable everything was, how rotten, so that any storm—such as a war—would upset everything. Yet the people responsible for European politics insisted on believing 'that they saw with their own eyes.' Thus history repeats itself, and may repeat itself again before the various bodies of 'well-informed' foreigners know where they are.

The main fact that stands out clearly is that the national revival of nations did not stop at the Russo-European frontier, and that they are particularly strong in areas where tradition and progress are the background of the nation. Non-Russian lands lead the way in this tendency to revivals : the Ukraine, the Cossack lands, the Caucasus, and they are upheld by their nationals wherever they may be. This tendency seems to form a protective barrier against the southward expansion of Bolshevism and of the World Revolutionary aims of Soviet Moscow. Whether the physical extinction of all these people will clear the way for the spread of Bolshevism all along the line from Vladivostok to the Black Sea is a problem worth studying, for to the politician nothing is more true than *gouverneur, c'est prevoir.*

On re-reading my diaries of those days I got the impression that the series of events that succeeded each other like the reel of a film formed a kind of dam which, after long resisting the pressure of events and refuting healthy evolution, at length gave way and allowed the influx of Extremism and the brutality of revolution.

In the autumn of 1917 the Revolution in Northern Russia seemed to have reached its climax. It overthrew the Provisional Government and replaced it by mob-rule under the direction of a gang of nondescripts who had arrived in Russia in sealed trains from countries at war with her, and who established themselves in the saddle without apparently being opposed by anybody or anything. As the Russian Continent had lost its directing centre, Petrograd, it had to move along in its own way in order to find a solution on the spot. As was only natural the Ukrainian tradition now made itself felt by a unanimous desire for independence. The entire past history of the country, as well as the oppression it had suffered by the unification policy of the Tsars, could have no other result, more especially as the only alternative was to remain under the rulership of Red Russia. The head of the Russian Continent had turned completely rotten, and as it would not be possible to cut off the head without destroying the body, a means had to be found for rebuilding the whole by a new process. This meant that the healthy parts of the colossus must be separated from the diseased part, and become completely independent. A purely negative programme fo anti-Bolshevism or anti-Communism was not enough : a constructive plan was needed, and could only be found in the local nationalism and the local independence of a mighty

nation of thirty-three million people which was risking extinction by being allied to Northern Russia.

The Ukraine became independent, the same as Poland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Cossacks and the Caucasians. Independence was the salvation of these peoples and countries from the all-destroying Red Plague of Bolshevism. Many of these non-Russian nations of the Russian Empire had already in their past dreamed of being masters of their own fates instead of being directed and dragooned by the One and Indivisible will of the super-national Tsarist régime. When the centre of the Empire began to rot, the healthy local nationalisms began to grow strong—and what was there to oppose them? The Central Government was too weak, equally so the demagogue Kerensky's Provisional Government, and that of the international revolutionary gang, Trotsky, Lenin and Co. The Army was in a state of decomposition owing to Bolshevization following on four years of war under desperate conditions. There were only few among the High Command who understood that a healthy revival coming from local nationalism must take the place of the super-nationalism of the Russian Empire which had already collapsed.

The Commander-in-Chief of the remnant of the Russian Army, General Kornilow, took the opportunity to form national corps of Poles, Ukrainians, etc., hoping that some part of the Army could be saved by appealing to local nationalism and that this would form a healthy nucleus round which a new body could be built from the wreckage. A beginning was actually made to form such a corps, and the various nationals rallied round their national chiefs: the Polish Corps under General Dovbor Musnitzky, the Ukrainian Corps under General Paul Skoropadsky. When the break-up of the Russian Army was complete and the officers were being murdered wholesale by the soldiery, these two corps were the only units where perfect military discipline existed; it was a voluntarily imposed discipline and all men were united by the hope of independence for their countries.

But however good the idea of forming national corps may have been, it was impossible to stop the decomposition of the Russian Colossus, for Bolshevism was a plague that penetrated everywhere. It was a case of *sauve qui peut*, and when the Provisional Government fell and Bolshevism came into power under Lenin, these nuclei of national revivals retreated to their own respective countries. While pogroms, riots, murder, pillage and plunder flared up on all sides, the Ukrainian National Corps occupied Kiev, our historic capital, and saved

it from the threatened onslaught of the Bolshevik troops advancing under the command of the Jewess Bosh. On her way to Kiev Bosh was joined by four other Bolshevized corps. But all Ukrainians rallied round Skoropadsky, the approaches to the capital were occupied, and the Bolshevik hordes defeated. Some were disarmed, some imprisoned, while the rest dispersed and the capital was saved.

Skoropadsky, as a Ukrainian patriot, put himself at the disposal of the Ukrainian Government, or Rada, which consisted of Socialist and Left-Wing Democrats. He was recognized Ukrainian Army Corps Commander, but when the Left Wing realized that he was opposed to all kinds of Socialist and Extremist experiments, they tried to undermine his authority by means of intrigue and propaganda in the still young Ukrainian Army. The Government wished to introduce Socialism in the country by force, but the Army and Skoropadsky called for moderation, especially as it was to be expected that the Bolsheviks would attack the Ukraine.

Finally, however, Skoropadsky resigned in order to avoid causing strife. He became a private person but, knowing his Ukrainians, he knew that a healthy reaction was bound to come because the people were genuinely Conservative at heart. If in the past they had ever joined hands with the Revolutionaries it was only because under Tsarism the Revolutionary method was the only way of showing a protest, for all national movements had been suppressed as being against the One and Indivisible policy of the Tsars. But now that the Tsarist régime had fallen, he thought that any enthusiasm for Revolution would soon evaporate, giving place to a healthy Conservatism.

Skoropadsky went away to the country-side, where he began to form the Free Cossacks, an organization made up of Ukrainian nobility, Cossacks and peasants, for class distinctions had never been very much in evidence among the rural population. These people were all comparatively well-to-do and serfdom had never been known amongst them, so gradually all who stood for stability joined this organization. There was, however, a certain amount of opposition to the organization, and this came from the Socialists and Extremists who were aiming at a Socialist experiment, on the one hand, and on the other from the Great Russian element in the Ukraine. This was particularly strong among the upper classes and had formed a kind of Russified class during the hundred and fifty years of Tsarist rule. They were not Bolsheviks, but they looked upon Ukraine Separatism as a treachery against a

One and Indivisible Russia—for in their reactionary minds they could not visualize Russia remaining Bolshevik.

Nevertheless the majority of the population was carried along by the healthy national revival. But it was by no means complete, for the country was swept by Jacquerie, pogroms and revolution. Extremist and Bolshevik agitators appeared everywhere, inciting the people to murder and terror, while they preached their policy of Smash and Grab to the illiterate masses. The population was terrorized by gangs and armies armed to the teeth. The Central Government was Bolshevik, and the whole continent in the throes of revolution. The Extremist-Socialist Kiev Government tried to remain in power by issuing increasingly Socialist decrees, believing that in this way they would take the wind out of the Bolshevik sails. As a result of the chaos that reigned, towns were cut off from each other, the country-side was cut off from local government centres.

At this time I and my family were living on our estate in the northern part of the Ukraine, not far from the frontier of Soviet Russia, and for eight whole months we were entirely cut off from news of the outside world. We did not know what was going on, and armies passed by plundering and killing. I organized an army of self-defence with a couple of hundred lancers whom I succeeded in hiring for my private service as their regiment happened to be at rest in our district, and the employees of our factory and estate. From deserters I managed to buy munitions, guns, machine-guns, etc. All around us landowners were being murdered, their estates plundered and set on fire, while we protected ourselves. The decrees of the rapidly changing governments reached us so late that by the time we heard of them a new régime would already be installed—so we simply ignored the decrees. The community of our estate was like an island in a raging ocean of revolution.

To prove what the conditions were, I only need say that I made forty-nine trips on horseback to the local district town in my efforts to keep in touch with events. I was always armed to the teeth, was accompanied by two lancers, and went by night. On more than half of these forty-nine trips I had to fight my way along; I could not pass through villages, for each had its own government and its own régime, which would have made short work of us. Six times my horse was wounded in encounters. The villages surrounding our estate formed the habit of coming to us to have their difficulties settled. I had to play the magistrate and even enforce penalties, which they voluntarily accepted. I had, so to speak, power over life and

death, for I was regarded as the supreme law. In the local town the governments changed twenty-two times in three months.

At last, on a sunny day in March, I was riding out for exercise with a detachment of my 'Body-Guard,' and on the main road we met a detachment of cavalry in green uniforms. Both prepared to fight if necessary, we hesitatingly approached each other—and here in the heart of the Ukraine, hundreds of miles from the battle-front of the war which had collapsed by desertion and revolution, I saw they were a detachment of Bavarian cavalry! We challenged each other, and they wanted to know whether I was Ukrainian. When I told them that I was, they said then we were friends, but if we were Russians and Bolsheviks they would attack us. Then the Lieutenant Schmidt told me all about the Brest-Litowsk Treaty, the separate treaty with the Socialist Government of the Ukraine, the arrival in my country of the German and Austrian armies of occupation as allies of that Government. All this after having been cut off for so many months seemed like a bolt from the blue. However, we had to bow to necessity: from then onwards the country was to be forced to Socialism by the Socialist Ukrainian Government backed by German and Austrian bayonets! And in return Austria and Germany, assisted by the Socialists, would force the population to hand over the produce of their country to the Central Powers, then being starved by the Allied blockade. For the rank and file it was a hard experience, but there was the consolation that anything would be better than the existing chaos and wholesale murder. Besides, the Socialist Government called itself Ukrainian; perhaps it was really Ukrainian, and if so it would come to reason and would realize that Socialism was not adapted to the Ukrainian nation. So we bowed to emergency.

In the meanwhile order was restored, wholesale murdering stopped, and the Bolshevik agents ran for their lives, back to Soviet Russia. Life began to readjust itself on peaceful lines. But the Socialists would not rest till they had forced Socialism on a strongly Conservative country; but then the whole country, unwilling to submit, once more flared up. The Socialists then called upon the help of the German and Austrian armies of occupation, and bloodshed ensued. Things again went from bad to worse, and one Extremist decree followed the other. But soon even the German and Austrian occupants saw the defects of enforcing Socialism on a traditionally Conservative country. They had no real interest one way or the

other, their only aim being to get produce and supplies, which the increasing chaos made impossible. Then the Conservative and national-thinking Ukrainians united under the leadership of the head of the Free Cossacks, Skoropadsky. As it would have been sheer madness to try and fight against six German and four Austrian army corps, some kind of *modus vivendi* had to be found. Discussions followed, and it was agreed that the Hetman would carry out all obligations with regard to the supply of food, but in return he insisted on complete national freedom. Then one day eight thousand delegates with detachments of Free Cossacks swooped down on the capital, Kiev, and arrested the Socialist Government. The army of occupation were shut up in the barracks and declared themselves neutral, while the delegates unanimously elected Paul Skoropadsky Hetman, and anointed him in the historic cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev.

Private property was restored, national schools and a national church were introduced. An agrarian reform was worked out, and a future parliamentary system, the Seym, and elections were planned and decreed, as I have already described in the first part of this chapter.

When life had once more returned to normal conditions, I decided to go to Kiev and see the Hetman, for in the past I had known him in Petrograd, when he was the commanding officer of the Chevalier Guards Regiment. He had then already been an experienced soldier, for during the Russo-Japanese War he had joined the Far Eastern Army as a volunteer and received the highest distinctions possible. In his family the traditional principles of chivalry inseparable from the Ukrainian Cossack state had survived the long years of service under the Tsars. He was loyal to the Tsar and loyal to his country, but never to the Great Russian oppression. When, therefore, his master abdicated, he considered himself released from his oath of allegiance and at liberty to choose the path he desired. The position he chose was that of General of the Ukrainian Independent Corps, then that of head of the Toilers of the Soil and the Free Cossack organization, till he was finally elected Hetman in accordance with the traditions of his land and of his family.

When I decided to go and see this great patriot, I took the boat on the Dnieper, our main river, and, passing through our estates, arrived at Kiev next day. After so many months of revolution, distress and murder the Ukraine once more seemed to be breathing freely, again seemed to have confidence in her leaders. Kiev was as picturesque as ever, this thousand-

year-old capital, looking down on the great Dnieper from its situation on the hills, full of beautiful parks and hundreds of gleaming golden cupolas.

It reminded me of the happy days of our childhood, when we used to go there for our school examinations. On these occasions the whole family used to go, with servants, cooks, tutors, on a specially chartered steamer. But all that was gone. The usual steamers were packed with peasants, with grey-coated German soldiers, with odd-looking creatures dressed in rags, but with aristocratic features: the Russian aristocrats who had fled from the Soviet régime to the freedom-loving Ukraine, which all through its history had been a sanctuary for refugees seeking peace, rest, and health.

Kiev had indeed changed since the gloomy days of terror and Extremism. It was full of happy faces, gay with the picturesque national Cossack uniform and the beautiful traditional dress of the women. Everywhere one heard chatter, jokes and songs. Everyone was eager to buy everything, to try everything. And in the midst of the riot of colour of the traditional dress that had once more come into vogue with the revival of the nation were the thousands of gloomy faces of the German soldiery, always moving forward, systematically intent on carrying out some order. All buildings occupied by them were entangled in a web of barbed wire and telephone wires, like a state within a state. Yet they kept well within the limits of their agreement and did not interfere with the national life of the people.

Before going to the Hetman's palace, I went to the restaurant 'Praga,' on the roof of one of the local sky-scrapers. It was, apparently, the smart place of Kiev and was run by some Russian aristocrats, escaped from Soviet Russia. Directly one entered it one felt the atmosphere of the old Russia—*exalté*, gourmet, the people living in a sort of ex-territorial world of their own, with their dreams and endeavours, quite unconnected with the outside world, happy for the moment and caring nothing for to-morrow. As I took my place at a table the *maître d'hôtel*, dressed in a semi-military uniform with many decorations proving his deeds on the battlefields of yesterday's Great War, came forward and in the best tradition of the pre-War fashionable restaurants of Petersburg began to give me all the news: who was important, who was the favourite of the moment, who had escaped from Russia, miraculously or otherwise, who had saved his diamonds, and so on.

People came and went; I found many whom I had thought killed in Soviet Russia and had news of others who were still

in Petrograd and were trying to get out. But many who came to speak to me, after praising Kiev, launched into politics, and their whole attitude seemed to express that this business of the Ukraine was all very well, but what they wanted was a One and Indivisible Russia. 'We don't believe that Skoropadsky, a general of the Tsarist Army, is a Ukrainian. He is only a sly diplomat, waiting for an opportunity to show them that this idea of a separate Ukraine is treason. He will overthrow it, and restore the one and indivisible Russia.'

One could see the timid faces of those who had just escaped from Soviet Russia; they still admired Kiev with its freedom and its cheap food. But those who were already dressed up in better clothes were full of intrigue, full of hatred of the country that had saved their wretched lives from the grip of the Cheka. For the Hetman Government, which had been recognised by Soviet Russia, had opened a number of consulates there and was allowed a special train once a week for the repatriation of Ukrainians from Soviet Russia. Thousands of these Russian aristocrats, almost crawling on hands and knees, went to the Ukrainian consuls and implored them to recognize their 'Ukrainian' origin and give a passport to save their lives. Thousands of such people were in fact saved and, taking with them as much of their portable property as possible, reached safety under the blue and yellow Ukrainian flag (emblem of blue sky and yellow corn). Then as soon as they were acclimatized and had recovered from the shock of the Soviet régime, they all joined hands in the effort to discredit and undermine the national rebirth of the country and the authority of the Hetman who had saved them. When I discovered all this, I could not but think of the Russian proverb which says: 'No good deed passes unpunished.'

When I had finished my enlightening lunch, I hurried off to the Palace, which was in Lipki, the fashionable part of the town. It was surrounded by the picturesque Serdiuki, the traditional Cossack Guards, gigantic sunburnt men, showing their marvellous pearly teeth in broad smiles. They were in high boots, long blue caftans, high fur chapkas, with long seventeenth-century curved sabres hanging from their tasselled silk embroidered belts. When I gave my name I was immediately ushered into a long corridor full of the hushed voices of a ceaselessly moving stream of figures of every kind and age, dressed in every kind of costume. There were foreign diplomats; generals in the old Tsarist uniform; Cossacks in the new Ukrainian uniform; civilian landowners in top boots, caftans, richly embroidered silk shirts and silk belts, mixing

with dignified peasants and simple folk, all intent on their own important business. An A.D.C. ushered me into a waiting room, comfortably furnished in excellent taste and with a few paintings of Ukrainian historical subjects hanging on the walls. At the massive door opposite, leading to the study of H.H., stood two Serdiuki, motionless as statues. As the A.D.C. muttered some sort of pass-word they stood aside and I entered the study. This again was furnished in good taste, but extremely simple, and at the desk sat Skoropadsky. He was in Cossack dress with top-boots, a jewelled dagger hung from his belt, and he was wearing the Russian St. George's Cross with which he had been decorated for his charge against the German artillery in East Prussia. He was an impressive figure; his classic profile and resolute expression showed him to be a man who knew what he was doing, who recognized dangers and drawbacks without overestimating the assets.

After the usual greetings we sat down to talk. There was so much I wanted to know, but I knew he was a busy man as the responsible head of a new state in the making. Beginning with the peasant problem, I asked him point blank whether he intended to restore the pre-revolutionary régime, but he rebuked me for thinking such nonsense.

"Most certainly not. The peasant, the Cossack, you, the landowner, are all part and parcel of the Ukraine, but it will be my endeavour to strengthen the smallholder, and bring him into the middle stratum, which is the mainstay of our country. Then he will become even more conservative, more national, and more constructive. For this end I am planning a far-reaching agrarian reform. I intend to organise banks to buy up the estates of great landowners who, after the experience of these revolutionary Jacqueries, are unwilling to return to them. Then I will issue long term bonds which will pay interest and amortization. The land thus bought will be divided among the smallholders, who will be helped by my Government with farming implements and credits. We want class co-operation, not class warfare," he added emphatically.

"These past months, you see, have destroyed every vestige of justice in the Courts of Administration. So I am taking up the old form again, but will adapt it to new conditions. The pity of it all is that after two hundred years of Tsarist administration our upper class has become denationalised and Russified, and strong patriots who have remained Ukrainian are few. So we must utilize these Russified elements, for we cannot dismiss them—but I hope that in our earnest efforts to

save the Ukraine from Bolshevism they will see, however much they may disapprove of our independence, that it will be something saved from the general ruin and destruction. And in the future, if God helps us, we may perhaps help them to overpower Bolshevism in their own country—Great Russia—and by helping them we will gain an ally. The first step, however, is independence and the national revival of the nations of the Russian continent. Then confederation, or federation, will follow as a natural result, not forced from above. The Ukraine will be strong and helpful, because we have no Asiatic blood in us like North Russia, which brings in its train Bolshevist Extremism and the instinct for invasion, domination and destruction."

Still being under the impression of what I had just seen of these 'Russians' in the restaurant, I expressed my doubts, but H.H. told me he knew all about that, though he could not believe that they would be so short-sighted as to saw off the branch on which they were sitting after nearly having been destroyed by Bolshevism. He told me that by his special orders trains bring them in by the thousand, that he tries to see them all and appeal to their decency, explaining to them that an independent Ukraine would be useful to them in their own national aspirations. He gives them jobs and keeps them alive, but he well knows how ungrateful they are and how Bolshevik in their outlook even though they were the first to suffer from that Bolshevism in a larger sense of the word.

"Yes, indeed!" he concluded, "I was a Russian general, I served the Tsar loyally, and also served Russia, of which my country was part. But I never gave up my Ukrainian ideals and always hoped that the time would come when the two brotherly nations, Russia and the Ukraine, would wipe out past sins and errors, would join hands and find an honourable *modus vivendi* for our mutual interest. Will that time ever come, I wonder?" he asked sadly. "When the Tsar abdicated and the Revolution came I was free, so I chose to follow the path of my family tradition, of my heart and soul, that of my beloved Ukraine."

Then he went on bitterly, saying that the armies the White Generals had formed in the North Caucasus were not fighting the Bolsheviks, but the Cossacks, Ukrainians, and Circassians —the very people who could be such trustworthy allies against Bolshevism and the Soviets.

"They hang us, saying we are traitors to the One and Indivisible Russia. I offered them help against the Bolsheviks, everything I could, but they refused. So we are being attacked

by them from the south, by the Bolsheviks from the north, by White Russian and Bolshevik agents from within. But I believe in God and in our Ukraine, in our inborn conservatism, in our Cossacks and peasants--and above all in the righteousness of our cause. . . . When the Russian armies were dismembered and I organized my Ukrainian corps, I realized what Ukrainian nationalism meant. The self-sacrifice of the people was beyond praise. While in the neighbouring army corps the wholesale murder of officers was going on, we had in our corps a self-imposed discipline, comradeship and a sense of Ukrainian responsibility. We knew we had to save the country, and we have done it. The Socialists and Extremists, seeing that their case was lost, tried to undermine my position.

"As I did not want strife, and still believed that even if they are Socialists they think themselves Ukrainian and would not injure our country, I retired and formed the Free Cossacks. There is one thing they are now all afraid of, and that is that I may form an army. They—Germans and Austrians—do not trust me, and that is my great difficulty, especially as I have news that things are not going well on the Western Front. If therefore the Germans and Austrians depart, the Bolsheviks will not lose a moment: they are already concentrating troops on my frontiers and their agents are busy rallying the Socialists, the Pinks and, strange as it may seem, also the White Russians, who are upholding the Utopian idea of a One and Indivisible Russia, no matter whether it is White or Red.

"You may ask why I am pro-German—but I am pro-Ukrainian, and what can I do after I had the Germans forced on me by circumstances? I have tried to get into touch with our so-called allies, but their only reply is to back up the White Russians and say that the Ukraine and Skoropadsky are German puppets. If the catastrophe comes, it will mean Bolshevism for many years, with bloodshed and destruction, because this richest part of the Russian continent will be their reservoir. The same applies to the lands of the Cossacks and the Caucasians, to all people in fact who could form a stable foundation for a Russia regenerated on the healthy lines of national revival, who believe in God, not anti-Christ, and in private ownership instead of collectivization and wholesale robbery.

"The Soviet Ambassador, who is accredited to my Government, is squandering money on propaganda and is organising a Democratic-Socialist-cum-Communist bloc in this country. But that is only in order to hoodwink the people, for if the

Bolsheviks come to power, this bloc will be swept away and shot by their supposed allies."

Then, after considering for some time, Skoropadsky continued: "Perhaps our first attempts to form a traditional conservative Ukraine will fail, not because of us, but because of the stupidity of others, and because of the forces that are disintegrating the world. But I am convinced that this period will be engraved in the soul of our people, and that many who now condemn us will one day think how wise they were to back the Hetman. I know I am by no means a genius, but look what I have achieved because I succeeded in attracting the nation—at any rate the best part of it: look at the schools and universities that have been opened and are the centres of constructive culture; look at our Church, which has reverted to its traditional freedom of creed; look at the prosperity of the peasants, who are buying up land from the landowners and are growing more and more conservative; look at our industries. Even in spite of feeding our uninvited guests we are prospering. Look how nationalist our people are. But I am trying to prevent that nationalism from degenerating into Chauvinism, which is a perverted and destructive form of nationalism."

I asked the Hetman how he thought that Parliament would function, for its reinstatement after two hundred years must be a difficult problem. He replied that he realized the difficulties, but was confident that the new project of electoral law, which was based on old tradition but adapted to modern times, could be carried out. It was based on the Guild system, not on territorial ownership. Every member of the Seym would be expected to work in the domain where he was an expert.

"But the difficulty does not lie there," and the Hetman smiled, "the difficulty lies with those slowcoach professors!"

Then he told me how, after the *coup d'État*, when the country was in a state of chaos, when everything social and economic had been uprooted, when the country was occupied by foreign troops and the entire administrative body had collapsed, prompt action was above all necessary. So he called in a number of professors and asked them to draft a manifesto for him, giving them the rough outlines of what was to be expressed in it. They conferred with him for hours, and although he had impressed them with the urgency of the matter, days passed without the desired draft being finished.

"So I got down to it myself and in two hours I had composed my Manifesto, saying all I had to say in my simple soldier's language, and making an appeal to the people. Then

I had it posted all over the place and nervously waited to see what would happen. After all, I'm no politician, only a farmer and a soldier! But to my amazement they received the Manifesto with enthusiasm. I suppose they saw I was straightforward and in earnest, so I got away with it."

I was beginning to express my admiration when he interrupted me: "Stop a minute! That was nothing to my next stroke of luck! About a month later I was asked to receive a deputation of professors. They all came, but I didn't know what it was about. I felt rather shy, for I don't like talking to such superior beings as these priests of learning! When I came into the hall and saw them all standing there in solemn rows, like mutes at a funeral, a faint feeling of nausea overcame me. Then the most prominent of them stepped forward and solemnly delivered a speech praising my statesmanship, my foresight, perspicacity and so on. I was flabbergasted, and then, to complete it all, they produced two huge volumes, entitled *Interpretation of the Hetman Manifesto*. It was the result of their assiduous labour which I had almost forgotten when I had been in such a hurry to explain my aims and views to the people in a Manifesto. Instead of producing the draft I had asked for they had produced these two volumes full of praise and scientific explanation of *my* Manifesto. That beat me," and he laughed. "Indeed, the professors of our days are always ready to produce any theory to fit any argument, and any statistics to prove what they want to prove—even if it is the opposite of what they wanted to prove yesterday or will prove to-morrow."

I always remember this story when I see notable scientific names under the most extraordinary statements in various countries, which set out to prove that they are right, everyone else wrong. But if one is blessed with a primitive sense of humour one is able to laugh at such things. . . .

Before I left the Hetman he asked me whether I wanted a post in the Government; but I refused, saying that as I had acquired a kind of leadership in my own district during the period of chaos, I would back up his efforts with all my power, and later I might perhaps come and help him here.

"Yes, indeed," he said, "work from below, with the masses. That is perhaps more important than working from above. God help you!" and we parted.

When I was asked my opinion of the Hetman I replied that he was a genuine Ukrainian and an unselfish patriot who had discovered the right source of Democratic Nationalism, which

is based on the conservatism of the Ukrainian nation. Then I went on to say that the legions of evil are so numerous that I was very much afraid his position would not last.

Events proved that I had been a sad, but true, prophet. The Germans left and the Ukraine was overrun by the Bolsheviks from the north, by the White Russians and Reactionaries from the south. The Allies backed them each in turn, sometimes even both at the same time.

But the ideas of the Hetman were right, for his ideals have become more and more ingrained in the soul of our people, in spite of apparently overwhelming odds. Yet his movement is gaining strength and is spreading among his people, whether they are under the Soviet régime or in other countries. Nothing can hinder its growth, or injure it—neither the misguiding influence of those wolves in sheep's clothing, the quasi-Ukrainian Committees organized by the Bolsheviks in their Machiavellian cleverness, nor the actions of the White Russians who, wittingly or unwittingly, have been caught up in the Bolshevik web. And could one ever think seriously of the suggestion that this is all inspired by Germany? For even if Nazism is a form of National revival suited to the Germans it would never be acceptable to us Ukrainians who are conservative and believe that the State is the servant of the individual, not the individual the servant of the State. We do not need to have the creed of race purity forced on us, because the desire to preserve the purity of our race is inborn in us. Belief in God and the separation of Church and State can never become a major issue in our case, because we have always had it. Church and State were independent, but allied. We have always had national unity, upheld by a pure Ukrainian racial stock in overwhelming numbers. As for Extremism—we never had it, and the forms imposed on us by brutal force will pass in the same way as the Tartar yoke, without leaving any traces in our life apart from material destruction, and that is easily restored in a country full of natural wealth. If we follow the path of our history and tradition, on the lines of *evolution* not *revolution*, we will achieve our aims and throw off the anti-God and anti-Man régime of Red Moscow. We do not expect other peoples and nations to help us; we trust only in ourselves and in our traditional belief. It is a case of *tout pour le peuple et par le peuple*—not by force of foreign creeds which may be good for one nation, ruinous to the other.

We realize, as perhaps nobody else is in a position to do, that in the face of a common enemy, Bolshevism, people and nations should sink their petty differences and join hands,

trying to understand each other and form a united wall against the powers of destruction.

Once, when I was lecturing in England, I was asked whether we Ukrainians would rather be under the domination of Moscow or of Hitler. I retorted by a query: 'Would you, as an Englishman, rather be under the domination of Moscow or of Hitler?' I think the audience, including the questioner, had sufficient sense of humour to appreciate my answer. . . .

Perhaps one day a national revival will take place all over Russia, for that would be the only constructive method of fighting international Extremism and Revolution. It will begin in the south, and will lead to the forming of federations, a commonwealth of nations organized and accepted from within, not enforced from above and without. Only after the foundations of national states have been laid, where there are no international or super-national ideals, will it be possible to build the walls and a roof to cover the whole. The walls will be concrete bilateral agreements between nations, and the roof will be formed by a genuine League of Nations—not a League of super-national Utopias, such as for years past has threatened Europe with a general conflagration and has sown fear and suspicion among everyone. How could anything have been possible in conditions when everyone was meddling in the business of others, and trying to enforce a universal Utopia which might be right for one but wrong for the other. The only possible result of such endeavours was irritation, hatred, and finally, rearmament.

Later I shall discuss the League of Nations as it appears to us Ukrainians. We never flattered ourselves that we were fit to be admitted into that select body, like the Abyssinian slave-traders, who were considered ripe for membership. Our thousand-year-old European civilization was apparently not a sufficient passport to admit us, and we were handed over to the control of Soviet Russia and Poland. Therefore it can hardly be expected that we are in special sympathy with the League, but, being outside it, we are in a position to study it under the microscope of scientific and historic research.

IX

DAYS : MODERN AND OLD

AN INCIDENT THAT OCCURRED while I was in the Russian Foreign Office, being trained to take my place in the Far Eastern Department, seems to me typical not only of those pre-War days but perhaps even more so of the present days of pronounced party politics. At the time of which I am speaking my uncle had been sent on an important mission to the Far East by the special wish of the Emperor, and in consequence I, basking in his reflected glory, was the special pet of the department, the Young Man with a Future, being supposed to have been born with a flair for Far Eastern matters. One day, as I was going through my share of the 'In' and 'Out' documents, I suddenly discovered a personal letter from the Mikado to the Russian Emperor, most beautifully illuminated with all the art and symbolism of the East. What was my horror when I found that this was an 'Urgent' letter, and that it had been mislaid and forgotten for over a year!

My budding diplomat's mind was filled with sinister pictures: diplomatic relations broken off, the staff of the entire Department dismissed—even the recall of the Ambassador. Terrified by these ideas, I rushed off to the Chief and explained what had happened. To my amazement he was entirely unperturbed. On the contrary, the idea of leaving unanswered the letter of an Oriental Potentate seemed rather to appeal to him.

"They need to be treated with contempt," he said. "Besides," he went on after a few moments thought, "the Emperor dislikes the Asiatics, and will be quite pleased." Seeing my astonishment, he then proceeded to give me some good advice: "My dear young colleague, you must never forget that the golden rule of diplomacy is never to move in haste, and that whatever happens by the providence of God happens for the best. So we will wait for a few more months. Then if the Japanese are annoyed we will attend to the matter; if not, we will leave it at that, and they will come to the conclusion that the Russian Emperor's Government does not wish to reply and is treating the Orientals with contempt. Not a bad attitude," he added.

Soon after that my diplomatic susceptibilities were given another shock when my uncle, reporting direct to the Emperor on events in China, where revolution was raging, told him it was only a matter of minor importance, that the Revolution would blow over, and that soon the Golden Dragon of the Celestial Empire would again be waving over China. But in his private letters to me he had laid great stress on his view that the Revolution was the beginning of great historical upheavals, the end of which would not come in our days, and that he did not venture to prophesy what forms it would take. When he came back to Petersburg I asked him to explain the discrepancy between the facts he had written to me and the report he had made to the Emperor. With a smile he replied :

"By the time you have grown into an old and venerable diplomat you will have adopted some sort of code, without which you will never climb upwards in a bureaucratic career. The first principle of this code is : Never report unpleasant matters. But if you must report them, then make them out to be of minor importance and of a temporary character. Can you imagine me, an Imperial minister, reporting to the Emperor on the progress of revolution, and giving it as my opinion that Monarchy would not last for many centuries anyhow ! My God ! " he exclaimed, " I would immediately be labelled as a Revolutionary and a Jacobite ! And wouldn't my enemies—and who has none ?—rejoice, and whisper to the Emperor's ears about Korostovetz's dangerous revolutionary inclinations ! I would soon be gobbled up by that clique," he remarked, smiling.

I have often thought of this conversation, and in these modern days I have wondered whether this rule has not been definitely adopted, especially by the Red diplomats who have to serve an arbitrary régime. They are often in the position of having to report what is not true, but what will obviously please their masters, especially as they know that if a discrepancy between report and fact is discovered, they can always find a scapegoat and a loophole.

In these days also there is another mighty force to encourage them, and that is the Press, very rightly called the fifth power. But the Press has run amok in our days, led in the majority of cases by irresponsible people whose one ambition is a Scoop, no matter whether it is based on fact or invention, whether it will appeal to the basest instincts of the reading mob, or whether it will have a disastrous effect on an issue vital to individuals, parties, or states. In other states the Press is controlled by the authoritarian centre, and there it publishes, not necessarily

what happens but what it is told to publish. I am not insinuating that it only publishes undiluted lies. It does not go as far as that, but what it does is to give half-truths. In other countries, by means of insinuations, or by expressing sympathy, or denying revolting rumours, these papers yet manage to attack personal lives, political integrity, religion, and so make an appeal to the lower mentalities. These want head-lines, head-lines, and again head-lines.

I wonder whether we shall come to see murders and other crimes being invented or subsidized by the newspaper offices of the countries that are trying to force their particular form of civilization on others ! After all, what is there to stop them ? Law ? But who would dare to enforce a law which would put a stop to something that appeals to the mob, or would rob the editors of the Yellow Press of a number of head-lines ? Any attempt to muzzle the Press would raise an incredible hue and cry. As far as I can see the only restraint on the Press lies in the insurances they promise to pay their subscribers in case of death, for in that way it is to their interest to avoid causing their readers' death by sudden shock. We know too well that the chief aim of Press magnates is to sell more copies than any other concern, and to achieve this their head-lines must be more glaring, no matter whether or not it is in the interests of their country, peace, and decency.

My diplomat-uncle's golden rule was this : ' When you wish some scheme approved by the heads of the Foreign Office—or any other Ministry where you happen to be employed—you must never boast that it is a new idea, that you have thought of it. You must always begin your report by saying, " As Your Excellency will probably remember . . ." or " As Your Excellency rightly indicated some time ago . . ." Then,' he added, ' the thing is already half done.'

Here again I wonder whether this rule is not true of our days, even although many changes have occurred since the time when he expressed this opinion.

Before the War, when the world had passed through a long period of stability, the diplomatic profession was a profession much like any other. A long training was necessary, and apart from that a certain tradition—family connections, position, wealth—was a decided asset. In Russia, for instance, where our salaries were quite inadequate, we had to depend on our family property if we wanted to enter this highly specialized profession. In those days the personnel of the Russian Foreign Office numbered three hundred and fifteen, including the Embassies and Consular service. After the Revolution it

was suddenly decided to abolish secret diplomacy, for it was supposed that diplomats spent their time plotting for their own ends, trying to ferment wars in order to make profits out of munitions. Therefore, the benefactors of Humanity and Peace decided that everything must henceforth be open and above board, and so politics and diplomacy became everybody's hobby. In all other professions training, education and study were necessary, but here everything was apparently clear and easy: one only had to follow a formula and the distressed world of the few would immediately be turned into the paradise of the many.

The Internationalist and Super-Nationalist character of these formulas resulted in everybody being mixed up with everybody else's affairs, and the Russian Saviours of the World needed a staff of seven hundred and fifty in one Embassy alone—Berlin—quite apart from the various commissions such as Arcos, Torgpredstvos, etc., as compared to the total pre-War staff of three hundred and fifteen. And was secret diplomacy really abolished? Not a bit of it, for those who had been loudest in demanding it were those who kept to it most obstinately. One only needs to study the example of the Soviets and their plans of World Revolution: are they absolutely above board and open?

As I have already remarked, everybody indulged in politics. Assisted by the international Press everything—private life, religion, tradition—was openly discussed. Under such circumstances a super-national institution full of forlorn hopes and illusions, such as the League of Nations, gave endless opportunities to all idealists, self-advertisers and self-seeking individualists for satisfying their own and party ambitions. The most varied societies, political and others, sprang up. Agitation based on emotional ignorance was exploited. And finally globe-trotters made their appearance, the degenerate remnants of the former ruling classes who were making up for their political downfall by rushing from one country to another, advising, offering, promising, always trying to hoodwink the credulous with a view to gaining some leading position for themselves. They made promises about reforms, planned by the League; they promised the redistribution of foodstuffs, of raw materials, of colonies: anything so long as their names were kept before the public, and it was made to appear that facts and policies depended on them. This state of affairs obviously suited the Press, as it provided subjects for thrilling head-lines: The Man Behind the Scenes, The Wirepuller, and so on. The disease of globe-trotting developed into such a

general epidemic that even Ministers were infected, which provided more subjects for head-lines. They rushed from capital to capital, till the normal thinking individual had to ask himself whether there were no accredited representatives there, ambassadors trained to deal with any problems that might arise ; or, if these were unsuitable, whether the Ministers were powerless to replace them by others. It was all most bewildering for the average reader to be faced by daily changing head-lines about travelling Ministers who were joining this, that, and the other society or union. And yet it was all perfectly logical, for the affairs of the world had become everybody's affair, and Collective Security was the chief formula.

At assemblies and meetings all problems were discussed in alphabetical order and settled by the vote of those who had no direct interest in the matter under discussion—a country with three hundred thousand inhabitants has one vote, the same as England with her forty-five millions. Ministers attending these meetings had to be accompanied by armies of assistants, secretaries and experts because, not being walking encyclopædias, they had to be prepared for the eventuality of a local diplomat knowing more about the problem in hand than they did. Long training in diplomacy and a sense of responsibility no longer counted for anything, and facts were less important than the motto or slogan of the moment which was being boosted by the Press. Then if some particular country did not wish to listen to the official representative on some particular problem, it was such a simple matter to choose one of the globe-trotting public men who happened to be on the spot. As the one ambition of these was to figure in newspaper head-lines, they were ready enough to settle problems of which they knew nothing, and to give away things over which they had no right of disposal. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*—but this idea was dismissed as being entirely antiquated.

Is it surprising that such a state of affairs would be made the most of by the group trying to produce a clean slate before instilling the ideas of World Revolution? They made the most of every opportunity, and put their finger in every pie, trying—often most successfully—to play the unbiased onlooker or self-appointed arbiter. On such occasions they would uphold internationalism and refute national interests, such as national boundaries.

Some of their methods are illustrated in Germany, where direct action of Bolshevism was no longer possible and some indirect method had to be found. This might consist of up-

holding the Monarchists once the Hitler régime has dismissed the Left Wing. So in preparation the world was persuaded that Germany was longing for a restoration. In Austria they thought that Nazism could be stopped by reinstating a monarch. But the main idea was that in both cases the establishment of a Monarchy would bring controversy and disintegration in its train. Therefore let the Press uphold the Monarchists as The Rightful Cause, for when they had served their purpose they could easily be murdered according to the usual system of Bolshevism.

Did we not see these methods being carried out by the I.L.P., so fond of promising everything to everybody, when they bowed down to Haile Selassie at the same time as Maxton made attacks in Parliament against the most progressive, most civilized form of Monarchy, Great Britain? But on the other hand the Bolsheviks for tactical reasons did not openly and directly attack Monarchy in England, preferring the issue of family, tradition, and religion. For they knew very well that if they succeeded in destroying these, the downfall of the Monarchy would follow in due course. In India, however, they employ the contrary methods, as they are afraid to make an attack on family caste and tradition, and they therefore work against the idea of allegiance to the Mother-country by saying that India is best fitted for a Soviet form of government independent of Great Britain.

The work of the Bolsheviks among the Russian *émigrés* provides another example of their methods; among the Socialists and Democrats they are spreading the idea that Russia is growing democratic and is upholding the racial and territorial unity of Russia, thus gaining increasing numbers of allies for Moscow. At the same time the Monarchist groups of *émigrés* are told that Russia is now no less authoritarian than in the days of the Tsars, and that the Soviet system of a One and Indivisible Russia is approved of by the population. As therefore the country is ripe for Monarchism, its leader Stalin must go, and a Romanov take his place. This mad Utopian idea has fascinated all Russian Monarchist *émigrés*, and they lose no time in passing it on to their friends in all countries. This bait of Soviets with a Monarch explains why Soviet Moscow is supporting the Young Russian Group, or '2nd Soviet Party' under the leadership of the Grand Dukes Cyril and Dmitri.

In this connection I wish to recall a Memorandum which was circulated in London a few years ago. It was an excellently written document and found its way by the hundred into all

official places, into all organizations dealing with European, and more especially with Russian, affairs. It was full, not so much of actual facts, as of suggestions and generalities adapted to the public desire of the moment. Thus, when describing the distressed state of Europe, it was so outspoken about Bolshevik misdeeds, that from the very outset the reader was convinced of its impartiality. The gist of the document was that Germany, where the Hitler regime was in its infancy, was becoming the centre of trouble in Europe. It declared that Hitler was planning to hoodwink Western Europe in order to have a free hand in the East. As soon as he had conquered this he would turn his attention back to Western Europe, that is to say France, and subsequently England.

The Russian problem was also dealt with at length, and it was asserted that Russia was either becoming Moderate, or else growing into something similar to the Russia which had been the *stabilizing centre of World Peace in the past* (*sic*). Then the various currents observable among the Russian *émigrés* were discussed and analysed, the solution arrived at being that while Russia was becoming less Soviet and more Democratic, the *émigrés* were growing increasingly evolutionary, and that therefore both would meet and support each other for the benefit of the Peace of the World (*sic*). Then a certain amount of lip service was paid to national problems, and the Ukraine recognized as a national unit although part of Russia. All who believed in national revival and independence were spoken of as German agents, yet three Ukrainians were mentioned and praised for their political wisdom and moderation—these three being pretendants to the Hetman throne.

This Memorandum was admirably adapted to the purpose desired. Hitler was represented as the bugbear of Europe, Russia was described as becoming moderate and united, national aspirations were recognized. Evolutionary Russia being depicted as the ideal peaceful ally seemed, however, so strange that it was thought wise to inquire into this matter of attracting the foreigner.

It was then discovered that the authors of the Memorandum were not only White Russians, but also a number of Non-returners. These latter are ex-agents of the Soviets who, after having been honest Communists for many years, suddenly realized the fallacy of the creed and made their escape abroad. Here they joined the ranks of the *émigrés*, where they pretended to exist in a state of semi-starvation rather then continue in dishonest service to a régime which they had previously been content to accept.

But the disclosure of these facts made no difference to the Diehards of England, who continued to believe everything they were told, and went on giving their support to Russia. The Duchess of Atholl, for instance, was so enchanted by what she saw of the Soviet régime in Russia that she is to-day the most ardent sponsor of Red Russia both here and in Spain. For more than ten years the Duchess has worked with the White Russians, while the same people who support similar organizations as the White Russian one, under the guise of 'Friends of an Independent Ukraine' in London are members of the party which signed a formal alliance with the Soviets and the Third International. Some of them have even been in prison for pernicious activities in His Majesty's armed forces in this country.

The people who actually lead this world alliance of Bolshevism must not be overlooked, an alliance which takes the form of a Popular Front in France and Spain, and of a United Front in this country. These leaders all belong to the tribe of globe-trotters I have already described, who go from country to country promising to give away property over which they have no control only in order to sow strife, controversy and disunity in the non-Communist parts of the world.

I have deliberately chosen examples to illustrate my points which appear to be quite unconnected with each other, but which are in fact all part of one scheme: international agitation of the troubled waters of Bolshevism. But there will be an inevitable reaction against these intrigues, and it will come from the direction of the Tiers État which is already gaining in power. Or, to use Baldwin's words, people will realize that 'Acceleration is not Civilization.' The Tiers État abhors vague formulas, and therefore demands plain facts. As a result of this we get definite, bilateral agreements, such as for instance the Anglo-German Naval Treaty. The ordinary middle class man has had too many bitter experiences with vague formulas, for they nearly caused wars about distant Manchukuo, about Abyssinia, about Germany when she reoccupied her own territory, with Moscow in the background. Moscow is trying to enforce the Soviet régime everywhere, and at the moment in Spain. In all these cases the ordinary man—whether he is in France, Germany, or this country—wants to know the plain facts. He considers the matter, and when it comes to the point takes his decision, rightly or wrongly. It often takes time before he can be persuaded to move and, as his silence is often taken for consent, many things are done in his name.

The ordinary Englishman believes that prosperity with a stable background means progress, and that God will stand by his country. The Press only interests him for its news of sport, and games are for him a source of exercise and healthy amusement. His opportunities for climbing the social ladder are provided by the parliamentary system, which is not a formula, but an organic part of British life. His means of knowing the world are also practical, for they are provided by trade. Trade teaches him the habits, mentality and conditions prevailing outside his own country. Although he regards foreigners with contempt he is invariably polite to them, and above all, honest in his dealings. The expression 'How marvellous you are, just like an Englishman' is very typical and well deserved, for he has given the world an example of civilization, culture and progress. Even although he may boast of having helped to build an empire on which the sun never sets, he does it in a joking manner, for he knows that to understand human weakness is one of his greatest assets.

Soon after the War I came to London—the same good old London wrapped in its attractive mist. It was an unchanged world of balance and friendliness, of tradition, of lack of haste, and of the efficient simplicity resulting from practice, not prearranged plans. I, who had survived war and revolution, was spending a happy evening with some friends who had survived the War, so it was perhaps pardonable that we had a few more drinks than was necessary.

When I returned to my hotel in Hans Crescent—that nice old hotel in which nothing has changed since the days of Queen Victoria, which envelops you like a well-fitting old suit—I was suddenly stricken with an attack of *Weltschmerz*, or *vin triste*, as the French say. And how should it not be so as I remembered the picturesque old horse buses, with the coachman cracking his whip as easily as his jokes as I sat in the place next him. All that was gone, replaced by huge, comfortable, ugly motor buses. As I was turned out at Hyde Park Corner, the modest amount of soda I had had that evening made all the difference to my philosophy and bearings. While I was wondering whether to go straight on or to the right, a tall policeman majestically approached.

"What do you want, sir?" he asked in a voice that seemed rather ironical to my dazed condition.

"Could you tell me, sir," I asked with overdone politeness, "where is Harrods?"

"Harrods?" he asked, for it was after midnight. "What do you want at Harrods at this time of night?"

I rubbed my forehead. "You see—as a matter of fact—any idiot knows where Harrods is, but I live in the Hans Crescent Hotel, which I'm sure very few people know."

A huge grin spread over his face. "I see, old chap," and, patting me on the shoulder, he took my arm and led me across the road like a father and put me on the right way.

I have often wondered in what other country this could have happened. Especially in our days I would probably have been dragged before a magistrate and accused of insulting a Government official on duty!

The other day I flew over from France and was passing through the Customs at Croydon. The official asked me the usual questions, to which I replied: "You'd better look, I don't know." Finally he asked whether I had any cigarettes, so I said:

"Do I look such a fool? Who would think of bringing cigarettes here, where one gets the best in the world!"

He smiled then, marked my luggage, and I went off without having it examined at all. It is true that I had nothing to conceal, but the heart of the stern English official had been moved by that slight sense of humour, which was the last thing he expected from a foreigner! . . .

The appearance of the globe-trotters and their attempts to persuade people to follow their advice and try new experiments is a dangerous phenomenon of a post-War world. But when their plans were disclosed and brought to failure because of the common sense of the ordinary man they were furious and accused everybody of wicked egotism. Gilbert Murray, for instance, poured scorn on all who refused to accept his ideas of Collective Security and League Supremacy, and it is in fact his own doing that caused the membership of that pernicious body, the League of Nations, to drop from millions to thousands. He would have us believe that it was undermined by war-mongers, but the truth is that it was the common sense of the ordinary man that realized that all its promises could lead to nothing but mischief and extremism and that its slogans only expressed the plans of the Third International for World Revolution.

What could stop the tendency of the League of Nations towards World Revolution? Certainly not national interests, because it prides itself on its super-national outlook, which is in fact International; nor the interests of private property, because everything was to be collective, beginning with collective security and continuing towards collective or mass-hypnotism—and that again, if followed to its logical con-

clusion, would lead to world conflagration and revolution, sweeping away everything that formed an obstacle to Soviet theories.

It is interesting to note that the various groups of the Independent Labour Party, United Front, Pacifists, 'Pinks' and Highbrows, all supported the ideal supremacy of the League of Nations : the supremacy of empty slogans over people who would one day awaken to the true state of affairs and regard the whole business as unwarranted interference.

One of the globe-trotters, who had been arranging the peace of the world on behalf of nobody except himself or possibly the United Front, had to confess in a letter to *The Times* (probably to the joy of Moscow friends) that the League of Nations 'reflects the profound bewilderment which exists on this subject.' His contention, shared by many others, was that one must leave the League and the Covenant as it is, but must 'negotiate a just peace.' This is a contradiction of terms, for the League as it stands is the instrument of the post-War Versailles structure, it supports the *status quo*, and that is why Paragraph 19 never has been and never will be seriously discussed or applied. As for advocating a collective force under the Covenant, this is nothing but a veiled form of alliance between the three powers, France, Soviet Russia and Great Britain, under the auspices of the League. The difference between that and the situation of 1914 is that then France and Russia were allied, and England was in an *entente* with them. If they had been allied the position in Europe would have been clearer, and the countries interested in a war would have had less encouragement to take the decisive step. Russia would have been told to give up the idea of conquering the Straits and the Balkans, and Austria would have kept quiet if Germany had known that backing her would cause a world war.

If that arrangement was unsatisfactory this one is even more so, because now Russia would be a partner in promoting war as a means to World Revolution—no matter where the war would be promoted or with whom she was allied, for so long as the Soviets are in power their aim is such a revolution, despite the rumours of her increasing moderation and Democracy published in the European press.

I have already referred to these fallacies elsewhere, and now as I am writing the news has come that the Red Army Marshal, Tukhachevsky, has been dismissed, and, as the first step of his degradation, sent to a minor post on the Volga, in the same way as the omnipotent Yagoda of the OGPU was removed

some months ago.[1] There is also the news that Political Commissars have been reintroduced in the Army, which means the complete reversal to military Communism. How does this fit in with the assertion that the Red Army is a National Army, or that Russia is becoming moderate? How do the admirers of Moscow in this and other countries, who talk about Russian democratization and evolution, explain this? They explain it as follows:

When it became known abroad that Russia had reverted to the complete Military Communism of the days of Lenin and Trotsky after having boasted of moderation, evolution and Democracy, her friends and admirers had to find some formula that would provide a satisfactory explanation of the change. The first to find such an explanation were the *Daily Express* and similar papers, who declared that by establishing a Dictatorship of three in every district (not mentioning the appointment of Political Commissars in the Army), the Soviets had completely liquidated Communism! But Walter Duranty, *New York Times* correspondent in Moscow, and since 1918 'unbiased' observer and friend of the Soviet régime, who has written so much of its evolution and Democracy, was even at a loss how to explain the reversion to complete and undiluted Military Communism. So he retreated to his last trench, and told his foreign readers that it was 'due to the inexplicability of the Russian soul,' if you please! The Russian soul, indeed! What has the soul to do with this concrete and perfectly plain reversion to militant Communism? Besides, Soviet Moscow and its directing centre, the Third International, are as far removed as possible from the Russian soul. To-day there is not one Russian in those directing centres: the majority are Jews, while the rest are renegade nationals such as Stalin, Dimitroff, and others. So, if this tale is gobbled up by readers, then truly credulity, ignorance and stupidity have no limits!

As far as the I.L.P. is concerned, the League is a means for enforcing a United Front on Europe, while, as I have already pointed out, the Versailles Treaty is Moscow's most reliable ally. Therefore Moscow is quite content for Allen of Hurtwood to preach moderation towards the United Front plans, or it might even uphold Churchill's idea of making it yet more autocratic, more drastic against the aggressor. Aggressor against whom, may I ask? Probably against the Dictate of Versailles. At the same time the credulous are told tales of the

[1] Since then, Tukhachevsky, organizer of the Red Army, has been shot as a 'traitor' to the Soviet cause. The same fate befell Yagoda, head of the OGPU.

ideals of Collective Security, of One and Indivisible Peace, which is only an incitement to open their hearts to Russia . . . till the time comes.

When Allen of Hurtwood says that in an armed world there must be either a collective policy for the use of force, or an inevitable drift towards war, he does not explain by whom the force is to be used or under what circumstances. We know, of course, that when he speaks of aggressors, he means those states that refuse to follow the lead of the United Front, while a drift towards war is inevitable for the simple reason that the states who oppose the United Front will rearm—as they are now doing on an unprecedented scale. If before the War nations armed for reasons of security, national interests, and concrete aims, they must now arm for all those reasons *as well as* for an eventuality of war against whoever may be declared an aggressor, in whatever part of the globe that aggressor may be found ! What it all comes to is this : that all efforts are being made to enforce the will and the formulas which are the result, not of the League of Nations but, as someone rightly expressed it, a League above Nations.

Flandin confessed some time ago that nobody any longer dared to confine the maintenance of peace to Geneva, and candidly admitted that ' the Covenant tended to guarantee the map of Europe as it was drawn by the Treaty of Versailles and the other treaties deriving from it.' Then he added : ' Of course, no Treaty lasts for ever, and the Covenant of the League foresaw the principle and even the procedure of revision ; but this revision, except in the case of the Dardanelles, has been performed outside the League.'

Obviously, because one cannot imagine that an arrangement for enforcing the Treaty could by way of revision become the instrument for the destruction of the Treaty and the Covenant itself ! Obviously Paragraph 19 was regarded as a frame for an instrument which would otherwise be thoroughly repulsive to those joining the League in the hope of revision and readjustment. The case of the Dardanelles could obviously be settled through the League and the Covenant, as an extra weapon for the support of the Versailles *status quo*, and as a strengthening point for the Franco-Russian alliance. As Russia was implicated in the unrest that was brewing in Spain she had to assist the Popular Front to get into power in France, and to help the Popular Front in Spain to enforce a Red Dictatorship, while the English people, blinded by various attractive formulas, such as Collective Security, non-Intervention, Recognition of Popular Front Governments,

were helping the United Front in this country to prepare for World Revolution.

Flandin is right when he says in the article already quoted (*Daily Telegraph*, 20 March 1937) : 'Thus the international value of treaties, and even more the efficacy of the League's guarantee, have little by little lost prestige, force and reality.' As a supporter of the Versailles *status quo* he goes on to ask with some bitterness : 'As the forces which guaranteed the map of Europe' (the Versailles map, I would add) 'seemed to grow daily feebler, the forces making for its destruction seemed bolder and more active. The list of unilateral repudiations constantly lengthened until we have reached the point at which territorial revision often, not to say always, fatal to peace comes in.' (The Versailles peace.) Then he pathetically speaks of Paragraph 16 of the Covenant and exclaims : 'What are they worth if the Covenant itself is worthless?' He further speaks of the difficulties for each member to specify how far he is prepared to go to support collective security, and logically remarks : 'As long as there is no clear reply to these questions there can be no security in Europe. . . . To prolong such uncertainty is only to encourage trouble-makers and to create risk of war.' Then he adds : 'That one must recognize that the famous *egoisme sacré* moves and will probably move nations not to run risks of war when it is not a question of their own security.'

Here he certainly hits the nail on the head, for it is obvious that the trouble-makers are those who seek to destroy national interests, replacing them by the vague formulas of super-national Utopias, such as Peace One and Indivisible, The Order of Things, in order to make everybody meddle in the affairs of others. The forces he speaks of are those which aim at building up a Utopian Socialist-Communist world after having first destroyed tradition, national interests, and all that we believe in.

With regard to the ideal League, we have an example of that as opposed to the existing 'League over Nations' in the British Commonwealth. Here you have the complete recognition of local interests, national character, and tradition, and at the same time the recognition of the interest common to all —the Mother-country. The process of the formation of national units and their consciousness of their own national interests are the result of their knowledge that their interests are well protected by the whole.

How would it ever be possible to find for the League of Nations one universal formula to cover all, and deny initiative

to each individual member ! Either the formula would have to be so vague that it would inevitably lead to uncertainty, suspicion, and finally conflict ; or else it would be a hell rigidly enforced from above, a bed of Procrustes for all concerned.

When the Spanish upheaval began and I read the reports of the many thousands of women, old people, and children who were taken as hostages and then shot in cold blood, I remembered the terrible moral torture suffered by hostages, for my family had been held as hostages by the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine, then tortured and shot. I therefore wrote a letter to a paper reputed for its impartiality, which was alleged to work for higher and unprejudiced principles. In this I said that I knew something of revolutions, and knew that even in the midst of them the local revolutionaries murdering their own people have an instinctive fear of shooting foreigners who belong to a State by which they wish to be recognized, and always listen to what the foreigners have to say. I therefore suggested that the Governments of civilized Europe ought to make a solemn declaration to the effect that if the murder of hostages continued they would refuse to recognize the existing régime, and would likewise refuse to recognize Franco if his behaviour proved to be similar. I also pointed out that in 1918–19, when hostages were being murdered in Soviet Russia by the hundred thousand, Europe had refused to recognize the Soviet Government. In Spain it was a proven fact that tens of thousands were being murdered by a Government recognized by the civilized European Powers, therefore a threat of a refusal to recognize this Government would save the lives of thousands of victims. But this letter never was published, and I was naïve to expect that it would be. Such a plan would have interfered with the real interests of some government or power in Spain, Red, White, or otherwise, which still hoped to work for its aims and interests under the guise of impartiality in the Iberian Peninsular.

But let us return to the League of Nations. Gilbert Murray, its main advocate, speaks of two alternatives in a letter to *The Times* of 14 April : Isolation and Alliances, or else absolute Pacifism, rightly adding that ' absolute Pacifism need not be practically considered.' (The Union of French Teachers, adherents of The League of Nations Union, of which he is a prominent leader, declared by a majority vote last October that they will not fight for France, whether she attacks or is attacked.) Then he goes on to say that isolation means defeat, alliances mean war.

'What we all desire,' he goes on, 'is to prevent war, and the only likely way hitherto discovered for preventing it is to have a Society of Nations which is sufficiently lifted above the level of mere nationalism.' In other words, national interests must be replaced by international slogans, super-national interests, and vague formulas; everybody must meddle in everybody's affairs, not only theoretically, but practically, to the extent of putting all her manhood and her resources in the general pool! But all this does not make it clear who is to decide as to what is right or wrong. The existing League is so obviously the tool of Versailles that nobody even tries to deny it. But supposing there are nations and people who look upon the Versailles *status quo* as unbearable, unjust, impracticable, and wish to change it? The Haves disagree to this, so it must be decided by a majority vote. Whose vote? What nation will agree beforehand to renounce its sovereign rights and put its fate in the hands of the Tower of Babel called the League of Nations which is based on the very *status quo* which some other nation wishes to revise? Has Paragraph 19 of the Covenant ever been applied? Most certainly not, for if it had been, it would have destroyed the whole foundation supporting the post-Versailles structure including the League and the Covenant! As Lord Dunedin rightly said in a letter to *The Times* on 29 April, if one were logical and had followed the League of Nations Union Policy, one would have found oneself in a state of war with Japan, hoping that America would give us some assistance; then when that war was finished, or perhaps still in progress, we ought to have gone to war with Italy. He then reasonably asks: 'Would the country have kept in office a Government which proposed such a course, or would the colonies have backed up such a course if adopted, and would the general peace of the world have been benefited thereby?'

For us who know who stands behind these mad Utopian ideas of world-wide formulas, it was quite clear that war with Japan, then Italy, then Germany was part of a carefully planned policy which was to lead not only to a general conflagration, but to the possible downfall of the British Empire.

But the people behind these ideas had not the courage to admit openly that they wished to uphold the League, that they wished paragraph 16 to be automatically applied.

The League can hardly be regarded as an organization to examine grievances and remove their causes, for its entire existence depends on these grievances. Of seven Great Powers, only three are members of the League: France and Russia,

who are both, for reasons of their own, interested in the maintenance of the *status quo*, and England, from a mistaken sense of faithfulness. But England is gradually beginning to realize that it would be infinitely more helpful if she left the League, not only in her own interests, but in the interest of the peace of the world, for Russia desires war as a means for bringing about World Revolution, and France desires it in order to disarm Germany, and they both think they are being backed up by England. But England in her common sense is more interested in the future of the British Empire than in the idealism of the League which is based on speculation and swindle, and is working towards war and revolution.

In a letter to *The Times* of 18 April, Lord Dunedin says that ' the idea of the League of Nations was a noble one, and had all the nations joined it there would indeed have been peace. But all the nations did not join. What then was the position of the League? Had it jurisdiction over those who had not joined already? ' In my own opinion, this is not so. France and Soviet Russia consider that the League's duty is to enforce their will, whether it is dealing with a member or not. When an Aggressor is a member, but his activities are not directly connected with Versailles, then they can easily be upheld. This was the case when Soviet Russia occupied Mongolia in 1934, and took it from China, a member of the League, and signed a military alliance with the Mongolian People's Republic, although she had recognized Mongolia as an integral part of the Chinese Republic by the Sino-Russian Treaty of 1924. The League refrained from interference although Russia was the aggressor, because, as it stands now, the League is the servant of France, Russia, and England.

Lord Dunedin seems a little too optimistic, when he says that ' if Germany had a dispute with Italy or America, I doubt if Lord Cecil and those who think with him would even issue a pronouncement on the merits of the dispute.' I do not agree with this view, for I think that at any rate Gilbert Murray, Lord Cecil, and those who wish the League to be the supreme power would certainly wish to interfere in the name of indivisible security and world peace, and declare war on the aggressor—whoever this might be in the conflict, even amongst non-members of the League. As the League is pronounced universal it is bound to act everywhere, because world peace and Collective Security are universal and indivisible ! It is obvious that any world conflict is the business of the League and as it would have to be put down by force, the countries who are members—fifty-two or whatever their

number—ought to join in action. The majority of these have no fleet, or else not sufficient resources to send a fleet or an army to the scene of conflict. It would therefore appear that Great Britain would be ordered by the League, acting on the vote of fifty-two European and non-European countries to go and shed British blood in fighting the aggressor. Can one imagine that this would be understood and accepted by the nation? I hardly think so. The League of Nations Union knows this perfectly well, and therefore no effort is spared to enforce paragraph 16 in such a way that nobody can evade it.

Discussing this subject Mr. Jacks, in a letter to *The Times* of 3 May, said that it must be kept in mind 'that a "collective preponderance of force" is verbally intelligible. But it lacks precision. Of all the stock phrases in the peace-making vocabulary this is the vaguest and perhaps the most deceitful.' He goes on to say: 'What circumstances are conceivable in which the Government of a sovereign State will allow a decision that would embroil it in war to pass out of its hands into those of collective authority? Is there any responsible Government in Europe or elsewhere willing to involve the people it rules over in the unspeakable risks and horrors of modern warfare at the bidding of a resolution taken by an international council at Geneva in which its own voice is no more than one among many?' (May I remark that Liberia or Cuba would have the same vote as any Great Power.)

'What, to look further, would the British people say to a Government which allowed its action, Covenant or no Covenant, to be so determined. Would not a Government which plunged the nation into war within any "framework" other than that of its own independent will and judgment, betray its trust, and any statesman who lent himself to the betrayal deserve, in the words of Alexander Hamilton, to be shot as a traitor? Yet is not this the very situation with which statesmanship might find itself confronted at any moment under Article 16 of the Covenant; was it not on the point of arising a year ago when the covenanting nations, so rarely unwilling or unready to make war on Italy, were faced with the obligation to do so under the terms of a common pledge given sixteen years ago?'

All this must be obvious to a normally thinking person, provided his interest in his country comes first; but as soon as we have to deal with super-national Internationalists we cannot preach logic and patriotism, because in their view the ideal Utopia must be achieved by hook or by crook. But in this aim they come into conflict with the common sense and the

patriotism of the bulk of the nation, even though these may be for the moment carried away ; but they soon come back to earth again, and not only are well aware what is what, but also who is who. Therefore, after a few years of pernicious efforts to involve England in wars—War to end Wars, Wars of Justice, War for the benefit of Humanity—these Internationalists had to face up to their fate, for mere logic, based on history, tradition, and evolution, was opposed to the revolutionary aims and methods they had preached. Yet they continued, but found that their beautiful veil of Idealism was gradually melting away and exposing the hideous bodies of the upholders of Moscow. They mobilized all their forces, and Pierre Cot, French Minister of Aviation, rushed from Paris to London, where he was to be the chief speaker at a meeting of the League of Nations Union, but he was obliged sadly to confess that there was a great lack of public interest in the Union ! If a few years ago you would have dared to suggest that the League of Nations Union was, wittingly or unwittingly, a tool in the hands of Moscow, you would almost have been stoned, you would have been ostracized as a liar for daring to make such assertions. It would have been simply unthinkable. And yet, what do we see now : at a joint meeting of the League of Nations Union and the International Peace Movement the star speaker of the evening is Pierre Cot. (The International Peace Movement is linked up with the Communist International.)

If one had the patience to read through the list of members of the League of Nations Union one would find that a great number of them are also members of the Congress of Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R., the Friends of the Soviet Union, etc. Here I would like to quote a most illuminating letter on this subject published in *The Times* of 28 April, and signed by two prominent Members of Parliament, Harold Nicholson and P. V. Emrys Evans, for it will dispel many of the doubts that may exist on the exact aims of the League of Nations Union, of which the depleted membership has been increased by people and organizations directly or otherwise connected with the Popular Front, the United Front, and other friends of Moscow—not excluding Dichards like the Duchess of Atholl and the ' wise anti-Bolshevik ' Winston Churchill. The letter runs as follows :

> ' The connection between the League of Nations Union and the International Peace Campaign is well known. The leaders of the League of Nations Union, although they may press for the adoption of a more stringent and automatic system of collective security, would, we presume,

reject out of hand any departure from the fundamental principles of the Covenant. It is equally well known that the International Peace Campaign draws much of its support in this country and elsewhere from the Left and the extreme Left. But what is the real attitude to-day towards the League Covenant of these sections of political opinion? The following extracts from Quarterly No. 13 of the New Fabian Research Bureau are significant: Collective Security and the League Covenant are in principle dead. . . . Disarmament by international agreement is manifestly impossible . . . our old Geneva vocabulary means less and less. . . . Most sections of the Left movement . . . are all moving towards the same plan. They propose either specifically or by implication, that Britain should initiate the formation of a group of democratic and/or Socialist European countries within the League—a peace Front. Its object would be to co-operate militarily in order to prevent Fascist aggression . . . seize the international initiative from Hitler and Mussolini. . . . The kernel of this peace front would be Britain, France and the Soviet Union. . . . This union would inevitably begin as a military alliance. . . . It would work out plans for economic collaboration. From the start the full members of the Peace Front would be welded together as nations have never been welded before. . . . The plan is no mere military alliance against Germany and Italy. . . . It would range from, say, Sir Archibald Sinclair to Mr. Harry Pollitt. The core of the peace Front is the trio of Socialist inspired Governments in London, Paris and Moscow. . . . The real break with the past is the abandonment of the old Geneva Universalism. . . . The more we look at the Peace Front idea the more practical and realistic it becomes. . . . Two-thirds of the French Popular Front would accept it at once. As for the U.S.S.R., Mr. Litvinow's speeches at Geneva speak for themselves.' . . . With France it would be necessary to institute a system of pooled defence . . . in the air. . . . M. Pierre Cot, one would imagine, would be willing to go as far as and farther than any Labour Air Ministry. Whether we should actually be able to reduce armament expenditure is uncertain. . . . Windy declarations about collective security will no longer fit the case. Labour should declare its willingness to support arms only for a Government with a definite working-class objective. With a Labour Government in power that would mean inconcrete terms, entry by this country into the Franco-Soviet Pact. . . .

'The policy frankly expressed in these quotations is

that this country should openly revert to a system of military alliances, the very system which the League of Nations Union exists to combat. Moreover, not only do the writers advocate military alliances, but alliances of the kind which could only intensify the clash of extreme political theories which is the curse of Europe and the world to-day. If this is the real and undisclosed objective of an influential section of those taking part in the International Peace Campaign then we suggest that it is time that the rank and file of the members of the League of Nations Union should carefully reconsider their own association with the movement.'

This letter is most elucidating, but what strikes me is that they did not see it all before. Do they really believe that a kind of innocent ignorance prevails among the leaders of the League of Nations Union? Does a politician with experience like Winston Churchill not see it? Or the Duchess of Atholl? Or Lloyd George? Or G. le M. Mander, one of the leaders of the I.L.P. Most certainly they know it all. The only effective reply will be that the middle class, the mainstay of this and many other European countries, will begin to think it over and take a stand against it. Then Mr. Winston Churchill will find himself in splendid isolation with Maxton and Gallacher, as he found himself on a previous occasion during the Constitutional Crisis.

All this, however, is criticism; so what about a genuine League of Nations? Not only am I extremely sceptical of this, but the whole idea is abhorrent to me. I will discuss the problem from the point of view of the awakening middle class which hates, as I do myself, all abstract ideas, Extremism mixed in a contradictory cocktail of Jazz slogans, shibboleths, strip-teasers, and cheque-appeal. In national as well as international affairs the middle class man wants stability, common sense, tolerance, and honesty. Therefore the middle class has woken up and has upheld its own Government, standing by it in anxious moments of crisis brought about by foreign influence in public and private life. When called upon to rearm, it obeyed the Government which it trusts.

The armament of Great Britain is greater per head than in any other country, but it is only common sense to say that if you wish peace you must prepare for war. No one could be mad enough to believe that England wants war. She wants national security, and by spreading it over a quarter of the globe that much at least is saved from a possible conflagration. Even if a future League is to be built up, this would only be

the second step ; the first would be to build up countries united by a strong and common interest, with a desire for progress and evolution. These countries must be strong within and strong from without, and in this respect Great Britain will not only stand out as an example to be followed, but will be a reliable partner in the work of building up world peace. Each country must carry on this work in its own territories in its own way, and in international affairs by common consent.

Even the leaders of the ally of Soviet Russia, the French Popular Front, is aware of the strength of the middle class, for Delbos has repeated many times in his speeches that 90 per cent of the French are Tiers État, which will not stand Extremism, and that the Government has to reckon with them. Matters in France went from bad to worse, but so long as the War Chest was in existence for the protection of the country nobody troubled very much. But when the Popular Front had used up all reserves and wanted to lay hands on the War Chest it was warned and had to retire. Blum, this French Kerensky, then had to declare that a respite must be given so that things could become normal once more, and for this reason the immediate enforcement of world-wide Extremist ideas was not pursued. It remains to be seen whether the Tiers État will finally rise to the occasion, sweep away all Extremism, and form a solid Government of people of the Croix de Feu types, the Peasant Unions, and people from the Radical-Socialist Party, and that of Doriot, in order to make a stand against the Popular Front directed by Moscow. It is obvious that the Popular Front is too much entangled with Moscow to find it easy to break away, and there can be no doubt that the battle will be on the side of the Tiers État which since the great French Revolution has brought middle class ideals to fruition. A national revival of the French middle class is bound to come, and this will lead to a free and independent policy of a regenerated France.

There are such various circumstances in the world to-day that it is impossible to find a general formula to fit them all—League of Nations or no League of Nations, and therefore concrete bilateral agreements are necessary. Countries could then come to an understanding without being tied up in alliances, and existing agreements be understood, even if not approved of, by all. Everyone could act openly.

X

SPAIN : SOVIET ACTIVITIES AND PROPAGANDA

ONCE NATIONS AND COMMONWEALTHS were nationally regenerated and stabilized one could advance to the next step : a general understanding on ethical grounds. But this would only be possible if the world were cleared of all revolutionary elements—troublesome theorists of World Revolution, super-national Internationalists, and so on. This problem is connected with a complete change of the Russian Continent which, whether we like the idea or not, is bound to come one day, for it will arise from the national revivals already in progress among the nations inhabiting it in spite of Sovietism, Bolshevism, Marxism, and all that appertains to them.

Before summing up I would like to discuss a very important issue which reflects as in a mirror the state of turmoil existing in Europe to-day : that is the Spanish controversy, and the claim of the Have-nots as opposed to the Haves—notably in Germany.

Before the formation of Popular Fronts in France and Spain the world Press kept drilling the idea into our minds that Bolshevism and Communism were only adapted to Russia and could never invade Western Europe. But with the outbreak in Spain and the coming to power of the Popular Front in France these decisive statements turned into lukewarm explanations, making out that the Popular Front was not Bolshevism, but rather an extreme and undiluted form of Democracy. But in many cases the wish was perhaps father to the thought, and the statements were dictated by the conviction that Italian influence—whether Fascist or not—on the Peninsular would be detrimental to British interests in the Mediterranean. Every argument set out to prove against all existing facts that Red Spain was not being directed by the Third International —attempts which must surely have made Stalin and Co. rub their hands in satisfaction.

The statements made by Henry Blythe in his pamphlet, ' Spain over Britain,' are far sounder, more to the point. He analyses the whole situation in a business-like way and arrives at conclusions which dispose of the sentimental side, and make

clear the practical point of view. He rightly puts in the first place the security of the Empire, and shows how Spain, owing to her geographical position, dominates the sea communications on which Britain and France depend. Then he proves that Italy can threaten British communications only if she has control in Spain—no matter what régime exists there.

Great Britain and France have certain strategic needs which are in no danger so long as Spain is neutral. Italy would therefore not be content by sending material alone to Spain, but she must send men as well in order to have a solid force behind her at the crucial moment. He says that the preservation of Spanish neutrality at all costs is of the most vital importance to the British Empire, and to secure this should be the sole object of British policy in the Peninsular. For the British Empire the Mediterranean is essential as a trade route, a military highway, and as a naval station, and with Spain in hostile hands it could not be used for any of these purposes. He considers that Italy could convert her weak defensive position into a strong offensive one only by the control of Spain, adding that 'Great Britain has only one interest in any Civil War in Spain, and this is to prevent other Powers taking advantage of the disturbance and establishing themselves on Spanish territory.' Here again we see that neutrality is, after all, a very sound and reasonable policy—but what is neutrality in the present day?

Before the War neutrality, vague as it may have been, had yet a distinct connection with duties, liabilities, and privileges. But now all that has changed and every kind of device is interpreted and enforced in the name of neutrality: cutting down the limit of territorial waters from six to three miles is neutrality; and running a blockade under the protection of a fleet is also neutrality; helping the Reds by closing an eye to their activities and arraigning only one side for intervention is neutrality; and blaming one side only for alleged wholesale murder is also neutrality.

Everything that seems opposed to some particular aim is dubbed Fascism, while the reddest of the Reds are called Democrats. The entire Press and radio are continually disseminating half-truths, and the agents of the Popular Front are given the largest opportunities for publishing their pernicious and misleading reports, while the lips of others are most effectively sealed in spite of all assertions about being neutral and unbiassed. The constant rubbing in of these half-lies or half-truths is poisoning the public mind and lulling its vigilance of subtle propaganda at home. It is a very general

rule that if Bolshevism is being used as a stick it nearly always turns and hits the person using it by undermining his fundamental stability. The *tertius gaudens* under such conditions then turns to spreading Bolshevism in territories nearer and nearer home.

We saw the result of Rapallo and Soviet Russian activities in Rapallo Germany, and we now see the result of the Franco-Soviet agreement. We even see how Nazi Germany, which looks at Bolshevism outside of Germany with a neutral eye, is suddenly faced with the fact that all publishers in Germany are bringing out Sinclair Lewis' books which have a decided Communist tendency, or the book entitled *The General*, which undermines and ridicules all sense of duty—while at the same time books on the lines of Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* were rightly banned. In order to increase the sales of such books in Germany their jackets bear the explanation that they ridicule military matter in England, but the jacket of the same book on sale in England would probably explain that it is making fun of German militarism—a useful old trick !

When Mr. Blythe refers to neutrality as the best issue, he *does not say exactly what he means by neutrality. . . . Does* he mean a permanent state of Civil War without a final victory on either side, or a Red Dictatorship, democratic or otherwise ? He also does not attempt to explain why a National Spain would be hostile to British interests. Have British interests suffered as much in the Red part of Spain as in that of Franco ? As far as we know the figure of refugees from Red Spain saved by the British Navy amounts to some 20,000, but only very few left Franco's Spain. Why ? Because in Red Spain conditions were intolerable, and not only property but life itself were unceasingly threatened. Therefore many English who for decades had found a livelihood there preferred to leave everything and save their lives. But from Franco's part only very few left, and those only because they had been mixed up with Red propaganda and had been spreading lies and slander about Franco's forces. The suggestion that a national stable Spain would be hostile to England is just another phrase in the arsenal of Left Wing propaganda. Why Italy should try to endanger Great Britain's position in the Mediterranean is also inconceivable—unless the fact of her being Fascist is sufficient excuse to debit her with all imaginable sins ! As Lord Hardinge rightly said, it is no longer a question of saving the world for Democracy, but the more important one of saving the world from a war of democracies against Dictatorships that is at stake to-day.

However important the problem of foreign intervention may be from a strategical point of view, it is only a secondary matter, as the total number of foreign volunteers on both sides is only sixty to seventy thousand, according to the estimates of the obviously pro-Soviet Delbos, and these will in the end balance each other. But when Spain revives—and there can be no doubt of her national revival—she will simply turn out the Red interventionists, and the others will leave too, if they wish to remain friends and not unwelcome guests. What is happening in Spain is most interesting from the point of view of the revival of a nation after many centuries of somnolent existence in circumstances recalling medievalism.

Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin were right when in their plan for World Revolution Russia was to be the first arena for the experiment, Spain the second. Conditions both internal and external made it appear worth their while to carry out their experiment there. In the first place the masses were becoming proletarianized as a reaction to the medieval conditions of social, economic, and political life, which had all the assets of the patriarchal systems with the drawbacks of class distinction. The World Revolutionaries here had an immense field for going to work in the same way as they had done in order to conquer the backward Russian Continent. Widespread propaganda was set in motion aiming at the overthrow of the existing régime and the foundation of a Red one. The peasants were won over by promising them the land belonging to the big landowners.

Curiously enough peasant proprietorship of land is the most dangerous instinct from the Soviet point of view, as it may hinder the spread of Communism. Yet as soon as the Anarchist-Communist Government of Valencia came to power it had to agree to the plots of land which the peasants had leased from the landowners becoming the private property of these peasants instead of being collectivized. Señor Uribe, Communist Minister of Agriculture, issued a temporary decree permitting such ownership in cases where land had been leased for a certain number of years. This tactical move is clearly the same as the one made in Russia at the beginning of the Soviet Revolution when, in order to bribe the peasant masses, the Bolsheviks encouraged them to kill the landowners, seize their land, and declare it to be their own. Then, once the Soviets were firmly established in power, they not only confiscated the land the peasants had acquired in this manner, but also that which they had owned for years before, forcing them to become slaves on collective farms,

or, in the Soviet terminology, labourers in the Soviet Grain Factories.

Another similarity may be seen in the policy being adopted by the Reds directing the Governments of Valencia, Barcelona, and Bilbao, that is to say the theory of Lenin and Stalin that during the period of ridding the country of all old traditions in order to make room for the building of the ideal Soviet State, one of the chief weapons must be the declaration of the complete right of secession of non-Spanish (or non-Russian, as the case might be) territories from the mother-country.

In the one case, the non-Russian nations of the Russian Continent were declared free to secede for purposes of propaganda, and the passage still appears in the Soviet Constitution that 'Non-Russian Socialist Soviet Republics of the Union can leave it by simple declaration.' In the case of the Ukraine this was counteracted by the simple device of stationing seventeen Red Army divisions and a hundred troops of the Comvnudel in the country, while the administration of the Republic is in the hands of 80 per cent Jewish and 20 per cent Russian nominees of Stalin with not one Ukrainian among them. In Spain the Soviets launched the same methods and declared the right to complete secession of the Basques and the Catalonians.

Another similiarity : The Ukrainians, in their battle for autonomy with the Tsarist Government joined hands with the Revolutionaries in spite of their innate conservative character. When the Tsarist régime fell they reverted to conservatism, but it was too late, for the Bolsheviks had begun to enforce their revolutionary experiments by means of terror and deliberate starvation. In Spain, the Basques and Catalonians have been hoodwinked by the Bolsheviks in the same manner. If, however, Franco would grant them autonomy, instead of copying Denikin's aim of a One and Indivisible Russia and standing for a One and Indivisible Spain, things would be easier for him.

The Red leaders, after having called in the Russian terror-experts to help in the application of mass-terror as the best means of enforcing World Revolution on Spain, had to find a way of proving to European public opinion that there is not much to choose between the terror applied by Franco and by the Reds. For this end the United Front upholders of this country were mobilized. They are dispatched into Red Spain by the hundred, in parties and individually, and then they shriek about the terror in the Franco territories (which they do not visit), and about the paradise prevailing in the Red

territories. In order to encourage the Basques and Catalonians to separatism according to Soviet policy, these delegates tell them that they have just returned from Soviet Russia, where they have seen how well the non-Russian people of the Soviet Union are treated.

Now let us see what is actually happening in Spain, where 'Fascist' Franco is fighting against the 'Democratic, legal Government elected by general vote' of Valencia and Barcelona. The Duchess of Atholl, a Diehard, who can hardly be accused in this country of Red sympathies, writes of the Guernica bombardment in the *Sunday Times* of 2 May, 1937:

> 'Just before leaving Valencia last week we were given official information to the effect that thirty-six Junkers had reached the insurgents a night or two earlier.'

Who were these officials, may I ask? Obviously the Reds, whose reliability is apparently unquestioned in the mind of Her Grace! Then she goes on to say 'I met a refugee myself.' Under what conditions, and how could she prove he was a refugee—perhaps he was one of the Ukrainians to whom Her Grace had spoken in the Ukraine a few weeks previously, and who had told her how happy they were under Soviet rule. (In what language, and who was the interpreter, Her Grace does not mention.) In the same letter the Duchess goes on to say 'a parallel to the destruction of a non-military town is seen in the special attention paid by the insurgent artillery to working-class areas in Madrid, devoid of any military objective.' This, in the mouth of Her Grace, recalls the obviously 'unbiassed' statements of Ellen Wilkinson and her Quaker friends during the crisis in England, that the National Government was against Edward VIII because he was all for the proletarians. . . . Everyone who has been in Madrid knows that Franco offered to recognize a zone where refugees, women and children could take cover (this can be confirmed by anyone in the British Embassy in Madrid); but as soon as such a zone was settled upon, the Reds immediately turned it into a stronghold from where fire was concentrated on the Nationalist forces. This obviously the Duchess, too busy with her trip to the Soviet paradise, could not know. The Madrid correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, H. W. Buckley, states on 4 May 1937, that according to a (Red) Government police official 'at the most 10,000 have been shot out of hand.' But this the Duchess has overlooked. When the Duchess, who is head of the Christian Protest Movement, went to Russia she did not enquire why the Bible Society did not sell a single Bible

in Soviet Russia, a country where complete freedom of religion exists according to the adherents of the United Front in this country.[1]

The following figures of the spread of the Bible are interesting, and I have taken them from the 133 Annual Report of the Society's work :

> 'The total number of Scriptures in English circulated by the Society in the British Isles last year was 788,000. . . . Nowhere were the difficulties greater than in Europe and especially in the Western Agency. Although Civil War raged in Spain for half the year a circulation of no fewer than 211,000 books was achieved. . . . In Italy also a harassing situation developed but despite the fact that the work was closed down for six months 109,000 books were disposed of. The total circulation for Western Europe was 854,000 against 1,168,000 in the previous year. Central Europe maintained the figures of previous years in spite of the uneasy political atmosphere, while south-eastern Europe has an advance of 39,000 volumes and north-eastern Europe an advance of 43,000 over the figures for 1935. In Asia the circulation reached the remarkable figure of 7,604,000 volumes, a substantial advance. The volumes circulated in Africa numbered 616,000 an increase of 100,000.'

What did the admirer of the Soviet régime, Her Grace the Duchess, see in Russia when she went there at the beginning of the year : 1600 delegates of forty-nine countries attending an Anti-God Atheist Congress. Did she, as head of the Christian Protest Movement, enquire or protest together with the many clergymen upholders of the Congress for Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R. who made speeches at the March Congress stating that Russia was the freest country for Christianity ? When the Dean of Canterbury, also a member of that Congress, went to Madrid as guest of the Red Government, did he not notice the religious persecution in Red Spain, and as for the tens of thousands of clergy who were tortured and murdered, did he imagine that they had committed suicide ? The Bible Society does not mention how many Bibles were distributed in the freest country in the World, Soviet Russia—but it can be presumed there was not one. The Dean of Canterbury says that General Queipo de Llano invited him to come over to Franco's Spain, but he omits to say why he preferred to ignore the invitation.

[1] August, 1938. The last existing Protestant church in the U.S.S.R. has just been closed by order of the Soviet Government.

How much did the psychological Father of the United Front, Mr. Lloyd George, contribute to the Children's Fund for the victims of Red mass terror? But his generosity to the Reds in Bilbao amounted to £250 of his personal funds.

It is an extraordinary coincidence that the upholders of the United Front in this country only see the misdeeds of Franco, never of the Reds. They always drape themselves in a toga of the unbiassed observer, of the eye-witness, or else quote 'official sources' (which, they forget to mention, are those of the 'Government'). Eye-witnesses reporting on the appalling destruction of Guernica invariably say that it was carried out by the Germans. What the Reds perpetrate are only odd casualities, even if they result in tens of thousands of victims!

In the Guernica case, Mr. Eden's praiseworthy suggestion of forming a neutral commission of enquiry ought to be wholeheartedly supported on the lines of Mr. G. Lee's letter to the *Daily Telegraph* of May, 1937, that it should consist of members of the Hague Court chosen for their ability, integrity, and suitability. I am certain that Franco would accept this commission, and that the Reds would evade it on political grounds, saying that unbiased Englishmen had already examined the case—referring to the adherents of the United Front in this country. At the same time they would label everything in this country with which they do not agree as Fascist, in order to discredit it in the eyes of the rank and file. This was the case when Franco made an effort to unite the various sections of his adherents into one party, the Phalangists, which the Reds described as turning Spain into a Fascist State, so dangerous for English interests; therefore it was vitally necessary to support the other side.

There seems to be no limit to the credulity of the English people, and they do not even trouble to study the actual facts, for anyone with even a sketchy knowledge of the matter knows that this policy of attaching labels is a favourite propaganda manœuvre of the Red United Front, for the cardinal principles of the Phalanx are industrial syndicalism, peasant proprietorship and the breaking up of large estates. In matters of government the Phalangists favour wide measures of local autonomy quite incompatible with Fascist theories. The Press in this country has eagerly taken up the idea that the Phalangists are Fascists, either in order to misguide its leaders, or because it is ready to use any methods for discrediting national revival against Marxism and Bolshevism in Spain.

Religion also has an important place in Franco's pro-



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LEON TROTSKY

gramme, as well as the plan to form the landowning peasants into a strong agricultural middle class, which was formerly lacking in Spain. With regard to the matter of religion and the clergy, we must not close our eyes to the fact that in pre-revolutionary Spain the Church to a certain extent was a tool in the hands of the régime, and therefore not very popular with the masses. At the same time it must not be forgotten also that Spain is a country with a peasant priesthood, and the parents, brothers, and sisters of murdered priests—whatever their political views—make bad advocates for the Red Cause.

This link of the priesthood with the masses reminds me of the Ukraine, where one son of the family invariably went into the Church. This same tradition in Spain is one of the strongest elements of the regeneration of a national, post-revolutionary Spain. Thus religion, the instinct of private property with the masses, and the distinct delimitation of the spheres of activity of Church, State, and private initiative, will form the foundation of the Tiers État of Franco's Spain, which will emerge from the ordeal forced on her by Moscow. Moscow had hoped that national revival would be too weak and could be swept away by physical destruction, terror, and the other methods so systematically applied wherever a *tabula rasa* was aimed at by the upholders of the United Fronts of Bolshevism, Marxism, and Internationalism—whether they come from the titled aristocracy, the lower intelligentsia, or the professional Highbrow Revolutionaries.

The foreign interventionists, as they are called, obviously uphold those who only wish to see one side of the problem, and cover themselves by the subtle formula that Communists and Socialists are in principle Internationalists, and that wherever they are they try to enforce Socialism and Bolshevism; they cannot be accused of being foreigners as they refuse to recognize nationality and national boundaries. Referring to Lenin's formula 'Down with War, Up with Revolution,' they say any war as such is intervention, but Revolution is not intervention. I know from reliable sources that the Reds in Spain are going to provide all Red volunteers with Spanish passports and insist on recalling the non-Spanish volunteers from Franco. The Moscow United Front, or the Popular Fronts, are no mere theories, for they have at their disposal the enormous wealth of the Russian Continent, as well as the Government machine in countries where the Popular Front has come into power, i.e. France.

It is impossible for eight supervisors in the mountainous territory separating France from Spain to be a sufficient guarantee

for the non-intervention of a country ruled by the Popular Front Government of Blum and similar people. How can eight foreigners dotted along the thousand kilometre frontier stop such intervention? More especially as the South of France, the Midi, is permeated with Bolshevism, Extremism, and Socialism, all allied to Moscow and Red activities in Spain. It is preposterous even to suppose that non-intervention is functioning there, but I will dismiss that because after all it is Spain, and Spain only, who will decide her destiny.

I know of hundreds of Frenchmen who, after having finished their usual period of service in the French Army, go home to their towns and villages and wish their names entered on the lists of those seeking employment. The majority of local trade unions are Red, so they tell the applicant that there is no work, but he will be paid 15,000 francs down if he goes and joins the Reds in Spain. As he is not a Communist the victim refuses and repeats his demand for work. He is told that perhaps work will be found for him, but after a few weeks the first offer is repeated to him. If he still refuses to go to Spain and goes to the next town in search of work, he finds that his name has already been put on the black list. Here the same thing begins again: 'No work, but here are 15,000 francs if . . .' Finally, he is forced by circumstances to go where there is only entry, no exit, for if he wants to return to France he is declared a traitor and shot as a deserter.

But all these activities of the Moscow United Front will not stop the national revival of Spain, which will develop on the lines of its history and tradition, and the characteristics of the masses. The initial military leadership will gradually pass into the hands of a larger group, the Tiers État, born out of civil war and revolution. This middle class will absorb the remnants of the upper classes, the members of the well-trained military castes, and finally the proletarians of town and country by means of professional unions. These unions have always been strong in Spain, but they have been utilized by the Reds and demagogues to provide cannon-fodder in the same way as the Basques and Catalonians have been used, attracted by the bait of local autonomy, which would never be realized if the Red régime came to stay. The same method was applied to the non-Russian people of the Russian Continent when they were hoodwinked by promises and slogans.

One hears so much of Franco's blood-baths, and one was told that in Seville alone 10,000 were murdered; but here I must refer to a very convincing argument put forward by Douglas Jerrold in a letter to *The Times* of 1 March. He says:

'If 10,000 Communists were shot in Seville, may we enquire who shot them and where they are buried. People who repeat statements of this kind appear to have no conception of the task involved in killing and burying 10,000 men, nor do they pay any attention to the elementary psychological consequence of such an outrage. Revolutionary conditions did not however exist in Seville. Normal conditions prevailed and during the critical weeks the only persons with arms were a handful of troops and the small municipal police force. The spectacle of these men spending their whole time collecting and murdering thousands of people must inevitably have provoked a reaction that would have overwhelmed the Nationalist cause in Seville. . . . Every Englishman can go to Seville and make enquiries for himself. I personally spoke to three Englishmen who had been in Seville the whole time. They not only did not confirm this story, but they denied it very indignantly.'

There is one other point that strikes the foreigner in Franco's Spain, and that is the peaceful atmosphere. If Franco were anything like what the United Front and the Soviet's friends make him out to be, he could not keep more than two-thirds of Spain under his domination at the same time as he was carrying on a successful campaign along a front of 2,600 kilometres against the Red gangs of the Valencia and Catalonian 'Governments.' Here he is not only holding his own, but making constant progress. Here I would like to quote some extracts of one of the best and most unbiassed letters I have read in *The Times*. It is from Captain Cazalet, M.P., and is all the more interesting because he comes of an English family which has had experience of revolutions. They had large enterprises in pre-Revolutionary Russia, and therefore know Russia as well as anybody and also know what slogans are habitually used in Revolutions for the purpose of hoodwinking credulous foreigners.

Here are extracts from the letter, published on 2 February :

'General Franco governs somewhat over half of Spain geographically and numerically. In the whole of that area complete law and order prevail and the visitor can go wherever he wishes without let or hindrance. The people, no less than the army, officers and men alike, are filled with a genuine national enthusiasm and devotion to their leader and—as most regard him—their saviour. Food and petrol abound and there are no restrictions on either.'

Discussing interventionists, Cazalet rightly says :

'The idea that they have come to stay, or to take over Spanish territory is as fantastic as it is abhorrent to the national pride of any Spaniard. . . . To suggest that there is little difference as regards atrocities between the two sides is an absolute lie. The Red atrocities are known to all, they are part and parcel of a deliberate scheme to eliminate their opponents and institute a reign of terror and fear. . . . There is not a town or a hamlet which has been captured from the Government side that does not contain overwhelming evidences of vandalism and bestial cruelty, unbelievable in its horribleness if the sad and terrific results were not only too evident. . . . On General Franco's side there have been some shootings, in some cases considerable numbers have been shot. These have taken place either immediately after the capture of some town or village where appalling atrocities have been committed or after a trial and condemnation for some specific crime.'

I have a reliable friend, a Spaniard who studied in England, and he told me that in the streets of Madrid he saw militiamen disembowelling living women under the cheers and applause of their superiors. He shot three of these when he entered with Franco's advancing troops.

At the headquarters of the Militia, boys of fourteen were promised money to go and kill at random anyone whom they considered anti-Red or representatives of the old régime. When they had done this and came back to claim their pay they could not agree as to how many each had shot, so the man in charge interrupted their squabbles by saying :

' You silly boys, just go and choose a few others, shoot them and then come and report. You will get more money, but don't quarrel amongst yourselves ! '

But to return to Captain Cazalet's letter. He says : ' General Franco told me himself that he had reprieved the sentences on all women, although in many cases they had been the worst offenders. . . . Evidence only tends to show that the full tale of horror is all too true and the reign of terror continues unabated in the Red territory.'

The fact that the English people who lived in Spain to earn their living left all they had and fled from the Red territories and did not do so from Franco's territories seems to be an adequate proof. If it is in the interests of Great Britain to have chaos and terror, Communism and Anarchism prevailing in the world—except on British territory—then it ought to be

stated in plain language without a subterfuge of lies and explanations which are a blot on the name of Britain. Even if these lies are only accepted by a small minority of the English people—by those who are blind to facts or to everything opposed to Communism, Bolshevism, Atheism, or World Revolution—then it ought to be openly stated and by so doing save the name of Great Britain which is now being tarnished by the effort of those whose sole aim it is to lessen the prestige of the freest country in the world. Patting Bolshevism on the shoulder can do no good to anybody, for a sin against your neighbour is a sin against yourself and your children, therefore minor differences must be forgotten in the effort to save the world and yourself from the plague of immoral creeds and subversive propaganda.

I would now like to contradict various fallacies which are being very cunningly spread by Bolshevik agents, not alone with regard to Spain, in order to combat the revival of nations which is the only constructive method for fighting the Red plague of World Revolution. These slanderous statements are continually being repeated by the willing or unwilling victims of Moscow propaganda

As soon as a national revival starts, a campaign of lies and slander is launched against its leaders by the so-called neutral and Democratic Press of the world. Its object is to accuse these leaders of the most varied crimes, not the least of which is that they are the agents of foreign powers. Hitler and Mussolini both figured in the pages of that Press as criminals and degenerates afflicted with the most horrible diseases imaginable. It was also said that they were puppets in the hands of sinister Machiavellian profiteers, preferably of armament, oil, or naphtha kings. When these insinuations did not have the desired effect, it was said that they were finished, that the army and the people were against them, and that the economic system they had inaugurated was on the point of collapse.

The Press campaign would not admit that there was anything genuine about them, for how could penny-a-liners be expected to believe in ideals and the purity of an endeavour to save a country and its people? The same tactics were adopted in the case of the true Ukrainians who are passing through their national revival, and of Franco and Spain. The campaign of slander will continue in the belief that continual repetition will cause it to be accepted as truth.

They will repeat that the Red Government in Spain is a truly Democratic Government elected by an overwhelming

majority or an all-party government. Many pretend in this and other countries that the Reds are not Reds, especially there where the idea of a Popular Front appears to fascinate the Press and the people. Here I would like to quote another letter, this time published in that serious British paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, on 1 January 1937, and signed by del Moral. In it the writer refers to authorities whose impartiality cannot be challenged.

Here is the letter :

'The figures of the voting at the elections on February 16, 1936, given by the Spanish Government are : Popular Front—4,356,000. Parties of the Right—4,570,000. Centre —340,000, leaving a majority to the Right of 214,000 votes without taking the Centre Party into account on either side. These figures were and have been accepted by the Royal Institute of International Affairs as authoritative : in the *Journal de Geneve*, January 17, by Señor Alcala Zamora, who for nearly five years until April 7, 1936, was President of the Republic. The truth of this cannot be minimised nor explained away. He commences by saying that he is "loth to speak at this juncture of the experience and folly of my sons who inflamed by the evil passions of the men of the Left have been misled into throwing themselves into the furnace of Civil War. By taking hostages so near and dear to me the Valencia Government has armed itself with unfair weapons. But though reeling from the blow I have by a determined effort recovered my full liberty—liberty not only of thought but of the pen and action." Señor Alcala Zamora states that for the first seven weeks (February 19 to April 7) as President he retained the power as such free from control by the Popular Front, but when he was dismissed from office and during the 100 days preceding the outbreak—"Anarchy no longer met with any obstacle. The tactics of the Popular Front were twofold—in the Cortes it was all-daring, in the Cabinet it was weak though ever ready to provoke trouble." When he was President Señor Alcala Zamora was definitely a Republican of the Left, and bitterly opposed to the Right, so much so that on the fall of the Lerroux Government he appointed as Prime Minister Señor Portelo, who not only led no party but has had even no seat in the Cortes, and refused to call on Gil Robles, leader of the largest party in the Cortes. It is, therefore, out of no consideration for the feelings of the Right that he has written this apologia. As the facts stated are so

vital to the true understanding of the position I quote them in his own words. "The Popular Front was hoisted into Power on February 16 thanks to an electoral system as absurd as it is unfair, which confers an extraordinary premium upon a relative majority, though absolutely it may be a minority. Thus in a certain constituency the Popular Front with 30,000 votes less than the opposition was nevertheless able to win 10 seats out of 13 though in no part of the constituency did the number of its votes exceed that of its major adversary by more than 2 per cent. Paradoxical cases of this kind were fairly common." At the elections, in spite of the Syndicalist reinforcements, the Popular Front obtained only a few, a very few, more than 200 seats out of the total of 473. Thus it became the largest minority group but did not secure a majority in the Parliament. It managed to obtain this majority by hurrying through two stages of procedure in defiance of legality and with utter disregard and scruple. As to the first stage as early as February 17, and even from the late afternoon of the 16th, the Popular Front, without awaiting the final scrutiny or the proclamation of its results of the voting, which were to be given out on February 20 by the Provincial Commissions appointed for the purpose, launched its attack by starting disorder in the streets and using violence in demand of power. A Government crisis ensued and Civil Governors of several provinces resigned. At the urge of irresponsible agitators, the mob seized the balloting papers, with the results that false returns were sent in from many places. As to the second stage, the majority thus secured was easily rendered crushing. Reinforced by such strange allies as the Basque revolutionaries, the Popular Front effected the Committee entrusted with the task of verifying the elections in each constituency, a task the Committee carried out in an arbitrary manner. In certain Provinces, where the opposition had been victorious, all the mandates were annulated, and candidates who were friendly to the Popular Front, although they had been defeated, were proclaimed. Several members of the minority groups were expelled from the Cortes. Nor was this done in a blind party passion, but in an execution of a deliberate plan conceived on a large scale. The end aimed at was two-fold—to convert the Chamber into a packed Parliament by crushing all opposition, and to ensure the obedience of the more moderate group of the Popular Front. As soon as the support of that group was no longer required

it became a mere puppet in the hands of the Extremists. In this manner the Cortes paved the way for two Parliamentary *coups d'état*, by the former of which the Cortes declared themselves indissoluble while the President remained in power and by the second they turned me out of office. The last obstacle to anarchy and to all violence of civil war was thereby removed. The gravity of the whole position lay in the fact that the régime was gradually falling into anarchical demagogy. The Extremists of the Popular Front, who dominated in the streets, had taken care to hold aloof from the Cabinet. The latter was but a docile tool, a puppet in the hands of the men who really held power and who were irresponsible. In this manner the duly constituted and legal Government of Spain was elected.'

It appears to me that this statement, coming not from a Fascist, not from a Franco Nationalist, ought to convince those impartial people who really wish to know in how far the recent Government was Democratic, duly elected, and representative of all parties. But I am afraid that to try and convince them would be a hopeless task. Since then the Government has been split up again and a new one formed. But it was not formed from the Cortes, for a Parliament, as it is understood in this country, does not exist. Many of the leading figures of this Government have been in prison for various petty offences, and such are the people who are at the head of the Government which is recognized as legal by the civilized powers of Western Europe.

The fights that occurred recently in Barcelona and Valencia seem to indicate the approaching end of that régime, and the ordinary man cannot but wish the victory to go to Franco, who stands for nationalism, law, religion, and private property. It would be an insult to the civilized democracies of the West to pretend that they wish Spain with its tradition of art and chivalry to fall into the hands of gangsters rather than of Franco. But he is opposed and condemned as a Fascist by the ignorant upholders of the United Front in this and other countries. But for us who are studying national revival as a constructive weapon against Bolshevism it is clear that, Franco or no Franco, Nationalist Spain has awakened to the danger and is fighting the battle of Europe against the insidious Anti-God and Anti-Man régime which was imposed by Moscow by means of terror and murder before the country had time to realize whence the danger was coming. We refuse to believe that England could wittingly support this dis-

ruption in the ingenuous belief that it would strengthen her position. This would be un-English and a shortsighted policy, misleading to her own people and the world as a whole.

In these days of high tension mottoes and slogans have been turned into sacred formulas, to sin against which would be unpardonable.

The bombardment of Guernica was admittedly a disgusting act, but war, and especially civil war, affects the entire population. But is not the very same bombing from the air carried out on the North-West Frontier of India—as well as the taking of hostages—against tribes who as far as air-raids are concerned, have even less chance than the inhabitants of Guernica, for these at least have knowledge of modern warfare and can take adequate protection? It seems as though in these days one only saw the mote in one's brother's eye and refused to see the beam in one's own, while at the same time reasonable arguments can be advanced for both sides.

I have followed with great interest the enlightening correspondence in the British papers, notably *The Times*, dealing with this problem, and two points are apparent in the discussion of existing grievances and the methods suggested for their removal. Everybody seems to agree that the world is unsettled and needs organic changes, yet nobody wishes to apply the golden rule of the British nation, that of compromise.

As Sir Abe Bailey says : ' Nearly all the world, and certainly the Dominions, expect a clear lead from the British Government in the present uneasy and dangerous phase of international relations.' He adds very rightly : ' They would like to see Great Britain take the lead in bringing to an end the armament race, in restoring international trade, and in substituting for the old pre-War grouping a movement of co-operation and appeasement in Europe.' Having stated this unchallengeable general desire, he immediately sets forth his own panacea, which consist of a number of ' buts.' He asserts that ' appeasement will not come from a mere handing over of colonies and mandates from the " Haves " to the " Have-nots " nor even from granting economic and trading concessions. Germany had many colonies in 1914 and a great and growing world trade. Yet war came.' Here he takes for granted the war guilt of Germany. ' Nor will peace be found in isolation. It takes two or more to make isolation.' Then he expresses the opinion that the Dominions ' will never follow the Mother-country in a war which may arise, for example, out of German designs in Czechoslovakia. The Dominions are proud of their independence. They are perhaps swollen-headed. If they

are to follow Great Britain's lead they must be ridden on the snaffle.'

But here again one could argue that in the hypothetical case of Australia being threatened by Japan, she could not persuade Canada to go to war, and Australia could not be persuaded to go to war if the United States tried to lay hands on Canada. The fact remains that in the British Empire the trustee is Great Britain, and it is in her hands that the leadership must unreservedly be left, especially in question of foreign policy. There must be complete independence from within and complete unity of foreign policy from without. But in this problem Sir Abe Bailey advocates that 'the British Empire must have a foreign policy which will have the moral support of the United States.' But is he certain that the United States policy is similar to that of the British Empire? Somebody else will probably insist that it is far more important for the British Empire to have a foreign policy which would have the moral support of, say, France, while another will suggest Germany, a third Japan, and a fourth Soviet Russia. This could only result in meddling with other people's affairs, and Sir Abe Bailey's ideas lead straight to the Utopia of the League of Nations, where all will resign their rights and interests for the benefit of all, though life has taught us that if we listen to everyone we get nowhere.

One cannot get away from the fact that the world to-day is divided into the world of the 'Haves' and that of the 'Have-nots,' the victors and the defeated, whose views as to the first and second steps to be taken are diametrically opposed to one another. The 'Haves' say that the first step is Versailles and the League, and the second one the readjustment of certain out-of-date details. But the 'Have-nots' consider that first of all everything unjust which results from the passions of war and the intoxication of victory must be thrown overboard. The more both parties persist in their point of view, the wider grows the breach separating them, thus allowing pernicious forces to creep in in the hope of destroying both sides and preparing the way for World Revolution.

At this juncture it appears necessary to prove these statements by concrete facts concerning the two opposing groups and to see where the truth lies, if indeed it exists at all. For this purpose I will take two points of view which appear to me to be typical. The one point of view is admirably expressed in a brilliant article by the late Sir Austen Chamberlain in the *Daily Telegraph* of 23 February, and in a letter from P. A. Molteno, and A. L. Kennedy in *The Times* of 22 and 24 April.

I purposely omit to quote the various kinds of Globe-trotters, whose views are sometimes harmless, and sometimes pernicious, but who always aim at misleading people in the interests of world Revolution and try to drive a wedge between Great Britain and Germany.

In his article, 'Germany's Demand for Colonial Possessions,' Sir Austen advances a number of arguments which strike him as undeniable, but when regarding them in the light of historical research they strike one as oratorical rather than practical.

He begins by saying that 'the growing insistence of German Colonial claims . . . is becoming not only a serious obstacle to the improvement of the relations between Great Britain and Germany, but a further disturbing element in a world whose greatest needs are peaceful and settled conditions in which economic recovery may go forward, and international commerce be restored to something approaching its old limits. . . . The German demand affects the British Commonwealth equally with the United Kingdom and concerns the other mandate-holding countries—France, Belgium, and Japan—as closely as ourselves.'

But does it? Are the mandated territories the only ones in question? Such a statement clearly defines the attitude of the author. It amounts to the fact that the *status quo* is absolutely happy and undisturbed except for the troublesome Germans who claim that it is unbearable and whose appetites ought to be rebuffed from the very outset. In other words, the Versailles *status quo* is good, thorough, and sound, and there is an end to the matter. Outside of it Sir Austen sees no reason why Anglo-German relations should not improve. It would not be necessary to discuss the further details of Sir Austen's arguments were it not that large groups in this and other countries take them for granted. He says: 'As usual in German claims the language used is vague and capable of very elastic interpretation,' and then he refers to a letter written by the late Sir Edward Grey to Lord Rennel (then Sir Rennel Rodd), where the passage occurs: 'That we never know what Germany wants.' Sir Austen hastens to say that 'such ambiguity has been a recurring feature in German foreign policy. . . . *L'appetit vient en mangeant.*' Whatever he may say or declare, the leitmotif of the article is *Mefiez-vous des Boches!* He also quotes Grey's words: 'that the Germans used to give Lord Salisbury to understand that where Germany wanted something she must have it because as we were on bad terms with France and Russia we could not afford quarrelling with Germany.'

Chamberlain hints that German policy and hopes are based on the assumption that as England is weak she must satisfy Germany's appetite. Sir Austen's statements are partly true as far as pre-War Germany is concerned, for she never believed that England would go to war, more especially in view of Irish troubles, dock strikes, etc. The truth of this has since been proved by the publication of secret diplomatic correspondence. Whether this is the case now is not clear, but those who are biased against Germany could easily exploit the strange fact that Hitler Germany is making friends in England with the very people who are supporting Red Spain and working for a United Front in England at the bidding of Moscow. For us who are aware of the facts, however, the matter is not so simple, for we know that it is Moscow's invariable policy to cause a split and thus prevent any understanding between two countries who between them could set the world on its feet again and constructively oppose Bolshevism.

A strange point in this connection is that on the day that the German Chancellor declared that Bolshevism is the plague of the world, he received Lloyd George for a friendly interview, who is the chief backer of Spain and the spiritual father and patron of the United Front movement. Although Hitler considers it to be the supreme honour for a man to give his life for his country, he receives leading conscientious objectors who had served sentences in prison. When an Anglo-German fellowship is organized in this country we shall see some of its members simultaneously joining the Congress of Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R., the most rabid Bolshevik propagandists in this country ! But this is only due to the sheer ignorance of the people which is being exploited by the enemies of friendship between the two countries.

In his article Chamberlain does not try to conceal his mistrust of Germany, past or present. He says : ' Herr Hitler in his speech to the Reichstag expressly declared that Germany had no colonial claims on countries which have taken no colonies from her, but there have been phrases in some of the German declarations which seem to suggest that we might satisfy their claims at the expense of other nations without surrendering our own territories.' In order to throw suspicion on the bona fides of Germany, he then says :

> ' We know that before the war Germany cast covetous eyes on the African colonies of Portugal. . . . In March, 1914, Jagow declared to the French Ambassador in Berlin, that Germany must reach an agreement with France and Great

Britain about the division of the colonial territories in Africa between these powers. Our agreement would have to be conducted at the expense of Belgium, and this, be it observed, at a time when she was in possession of all the colonies she is now reclaiming. . . . The worst policy of all because the most certain to lead in the end to strife would be for us to attempt to buy a respite from present trouble by piecemeal concessions which are accepted only on account, until a favourable moment presents itself for pressing other claims.

'It is however worth while to consider the German Claims as they stand and to see what foundation on economic or political grounds there is for them. She requires, too, a market for her manufactured products and supplies of raw materials and fats, which she was unable to obtain for want of the foreign currency required to purchase them. Before the war Germany had a considerable colonial empire. She drew from that empire exactly 0·5 per cent of her raw materials, one two hundredth part of her supplies. She sent to that Empire 0.6 per cent, a one hundred and eightieth part of her exports, an amount that one prosperous week in the year would wipe out. She sent settlers to these colonies over a period of thirty years, less than 20,000 Germans. During the last ten years before the war the average German migration to her colonies was between 30 and 40 a year out of a total emigration of about 25,000 a year. And Mr. Amery states for example that in the three years 1933-35 Germany sold goods to East Africa to the value of £1,429,415. She bought from East Africa in the same years only £1,080,000 pounds worth of produce, leaving her a free credit balance of over £400,000. In the British Cameroons over 40 per cent of their imports came from Germany, and over three quarters of their exports went to Germany in the year 1934.'

One point which does not appear to have been raised is that while her foreign trade is controlled by the Government, Germany can build up a favourable trade balance. As she has no foreign currency, she cannot do otherwise, but does that mean nothing? If a country exports goods to the value of £1,000,000 and imports goods for £999,999, it has a favourable balance of £1 ; if, by order of the same government, a thousand pounds worth of goods are exported and £998 worth imported, can one say that the position has become doubly favourable? In this case statistics prove nothing.

Another important point is the rising standard of life in Europe and the lowering of the standard in non-European countries. Goods which were luxuries in the eighteenth century are ordinary necessities to-day, and under such conditions Continental industrial countries such as Germany need markets and colonies; but if, as Sir Austen said, colonies are of minor importance, why did he wish to keep them? The answer might be that we were entrusted with the fate of those nations and cannot hand them over to other countries—but were those people ever asked whose domination they preferred? At the outbreak of the Abyssinian conflict, was not Great Britain prepared to cede territory to Italy in an attempt to prevent bloodshed? But she was attacked for this by those who wished to sow trouble between Italy and England.

The whole matter takes on a different aspect in the eyes of an impartial observer, and I hope I am one, as we Ukrainians do not make any claims to colonies. We know that the British Empire is a complicated structure functioning with perfect precision, like a chronometer. But if one cog is removed then the whole must be reconstructed. The separate parts of the British Commonwealth have worked out their position, their links with the Mother-country, and they do not form a mere mechanical structure which can be brought to collapse by the removal of a cog, but the Commonwealth is a moral structure which has to protect itself, no matter in what manner certain parts of it came to be incorporated in the whole. In this moral and material link with the Mother-country lies its strength and weakness, and it is the aim of Moscow to undermine it and pretend that it is for the benefit of the 'Have-nots.' Thanks to Hitler, believer in world peace and hater of Bolshevism, Europe is not yet ripe for a Continental system, such as Napoleon aimed at in the hope of breaking up the richest Empire in the world. For the benefit of the world and for the future of Great Britain it is absolutely necessary, as your greatest statesman, Stanley Baldwin, said, that England should show an example and give spiritual leadership.

Referring again to Chamberlain's pleas for the *status quo* he, after disposing of the fallacy of the German claims, goes on to the political aspect. He puts the entire guilt for war on the shoulders of Germany, saying that 'Germany urged Austria on when with a word she could have restrained her. She refused Grey's proposal of a conference, she declared war on Russia whilst Austria was negotiating: that is what those who lived through the fatal days of August, 1914, meant when they spoke of Germany's responsibility for the war.'

Such statements may have been all very well during the War or in the years immediately following, when passions were still running high, but in the light of published documents and historical research the matter of war guilt is far from being so simple.

I myself must obviously be impartial, for during the War I was in the Russian Foreign Office, and took part in many discussions with the leaders of our Russian Foreign Policy, as I have already described elsewhere. In such conditions it was obvious to me that the War guilt was on the side of Tsarist Russia, which was ever tending towards expansion or, as Sazonow put it : ' It's Russia's sacred duty to hoist the Cross on Aja Sophia,' and, incidentally, annex the Balkans and the Dardanelles. In his mind this could only be achieved by defeating Berlin and Vienna with the help of a revengeful France and of Great Britain, competitor in trade and sea dominion ! If, as Sir Austen has said, Germany could have restrained Austria, it could also be said that if Britain had declared her policy from the very outset, no war would have ensued.

It is an indisputable fact that since Great Britain's unprecedented rearmament a sense of stability is prevailing in Europe. Nobody believes she would attack, but she must disprove the rumours spread by Soviet Russia that she is weak and ripe for dismemberment.

Sir Austen's next argument is : ' Does any German ask what terms Germany would have imposed on us and our Allies if she had conquered ? What mercy could we expect ? What indemnities should we have had to pay ? ' But an argument based on the desire for revenge is weak. If we accept historical precedents, we see that after Germany defeated France in 1871 the indemnity demanded was five billion gold francs, which was easily paid in five years. But the Reparations of 225 millions would take three generations to pay. He refers to the Brest-Litovsk Treaty as an example—but was it as unfair as Versailles ? Most certainly not. One could argue for years without reaching any conclusion except that two wrongs do not make a right, and if England accepts Sir Austen's opinion of Germany, then peace will never be achieved. Hatred and suspicion will increase and lead to an inevitable explosion which, as your Prime Minister rightly said, would mean the end of European civilization.

We on the Continent still believe that Britain is right and that the purpose of her armaments is to support a right cause. Sir Austen was honest enough to finish his article with

a clear statement of his unreserved acceptance of Versailles. He says:

> 'It was a decision dictated by reason and experience, and when the Allied and Associated Powers came to consider the terms of peace it was not Lloyd George but General Smuts who prophesied that "having regard to the record of German colonial administration in the colonies formerly belonging to the German Empire and to the menace which the possession by Germany of submarine bases in many parts of the world would necessarily constitute to the freedom and security of all nations the Allied and Associated Powers should agree that in no circumstances should any German colonies be restored to Germany.'

Sir Austen cites this with pride as though it were an undeniable truth; but to the impartial observer it appeared that the judges pronouncing the verdict were themselves the litigants and therefore far from impartial.

If Sir Austen's hypothetical case of Germany is to be accepted as a base for discussion, then the attitude taken up by the other side should be as follows: Germany can prove that she was not responsible for the War, and therefore the logical consequence would be the return of her colonies and the return of reparations paid. But surely even the maddest German would never think of that.

Now I would like to discuss the opposite arguments put forward in P. A. Moltino's letter to *The Times* of 22 April and a previous one from A. L. Kennedy. They give a fair representation of the German case and A. L. Kennedy describes the efforts of Hitler Germany to find a peaceful solution. He says: 'Eighteen years ago we imposed peace on an enfeebled Germany and we still have to make peace with a strong Germany.' Certainly Dr. Goebbels' phrase that the colonies were purloined from Germany does not make for amicable discussion. Kennedy ascribes the bad after-effects to the fact that 'difficulties are directly or indirectly due to that initial blunder of not having had the patience to bring about a negotiated peace treaty, and then having failed to remedy this mistake by coming out boldly for a peace revision—a policy foreseen and invited by the clause which forms Article 19 of both the Treaty of Peace and the Covenant of the League.'

It seems to me that Mr. Kennedy is theoretical because he forgets the basis of the Treaty and the atmosphere in which it was worked out. The aim was to annihilate Germany and the Central Powers by dismemberment and economic extinc-

tion, and everyone tried to take all they could lay hands on. America was helpless and President Wilson described as a cunning deceiver whose true aim it was to hand the vanquished over to the victors. Mr. Kennedy admits that we cannot be expected to make concessions without the assurance of future German collaboration in Europe and Africa. 'Abstention from crude anti-international propaganda would be one method and a valuable method by which Germany could allay the now well-founded suspicions of foreign countries.'

If this means that Germany must no longer declare Bolshevism to be the enemy of civilization it is unjust, for it is Hitler's Germany that has for the time saved continental Europe from Bolshevism. It was the Soviets who put the blame for all the troubles of the world on the national revivals taking place in Italy and Germany. And the world, poisoned by Moscow, puts at the disposal of Moscow all the best organizations such as wireless, cinema and the Press for the purposes of propaganda. In order to have the collaboration that Mr. Kennedy suggests one must first convince the people that it is necessary for both sides, but how is this possible in view of the constant propaganda for Soviet Russia and against Germany? Hardly a day passes without the most blatant mis-statements, not only in the frankly pro-Soviet Press, but in newspapers that assert they are violently opposed to Bolshevism.

As opposed to this, every book or article published about Germany in this country is full of propaganda of the awfulness of the German system, and of description of the tortured people under the totalitarian régime.

There is a book by a friend of the Soviets which deserves to be mentioned, and that is *Inside Europe* by Gunther. This is wonderfully descriptive and pretends to be impartial. It attacks all dictatorships, ridicules good old England with her old traditions and antiquated system, and comes to the conclusion that of the dictators Stalin is the best because he is trying to improve the system. How many of the pro-Soviet books contain impartial statements of facts? Not even one in a hundred!

The results of Soviet propaganda are continually apparent. Only some time ago the military authorities in Morocco and Algiers put down an Arab revolt, for which they were punished by the Popular Front Government. As the result the white population is quickly leaving a country that was settled and prosperous before the Popular Front, directed by Moscow, came into power. A less open attack on the European system was carried out when at the International Labour Office at

Geneva the majority of delegates enforced the rule of working hours, a rule which would ruin the non-Communist world, whereupon the delegate of this democratic country resigned his position on the Commission. . . .

I have quoted at length from Sir Austen Chamberlain's article and Mr. Kennedy's letter. There now remains Mr. P. A. Molteno's letter. It deals with the efforts made by Germany for the consolidation of Europe on peaceful lines and which were rejected by the Allies. The writer, after referring to Germany's offers and to the substantial contribution she made to the peace of Europe, goes on to say :

> ' Hitler has recorded that Germany has renounced all intentions of seeking a re-acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine, has solemnly recognized and guaranteed France her frontiers as determined after the Saar plebiscite and has further declared " we are prepared to do everything on our part to arrive at a true peace and a real friendship with the French nation." '

The genuineness of this can hardly be doubted. Hitler believes, with religious fervour, that Europe cannot afford a new war which would be detrimental to all concerned and will be the end of Europe. Even the bitterest opposer of Hitler can hardly doubt the truth of this declaration—apart from Soviet propagandists and their agents among the White Russians, who assert that he wants a free hand in the East and, after achieving results there, will turn his attentions to the West. The answer to that argument is the Maginot Line, which even the subtlest propagandists cannot describe as easily surmountable.

Molteno then goes on to say that Germany made peace with Poland. That was indeed self-sacrifice of the highest degree, in view of the fact that Germany had been cut in two by a corridor which was in the hands of a nation—product of Versailles—renowned for petty aggressiveness throughout history. It needed a great genius and a great leader to take upon himself the responsibility of such a step as making friends with an inveterate enemy for the sake of his ideal of peace. The statement in the letter ' He offered to join in complete disarmament ' is another proof that we are dealing with an idealist, for a practical politician would have known that such an idea was ridiculous so long as Russia was making no secret of the fact that she was arming for the purpose of spreading world-revolution.

The practical side of Hitler's offer was to limit the German

army to 200,000 and, when this idea was abandoned, to 300,000. Here he was thinking on the lines, not of a united Germany, but of a Europe united against all aggressions from whatever quarter they might come. But this offer was refused. Faithful to the traditions of the post-revolutionary Tiers État, he then made further concrete offers, he 'stated his willingness to be ready in principle to conclude pacts of non-aggression with all provisions which aim at isolating the war-maker and localizing the area of war. Germany is ready at any time to limit her arms to any degree that is adopted by the other powers.'

The offer with regard to non-aggression pacts calls forth a wave of pernicious propaganda, saying that it was only a device on the part of Germany to gain control over certain States, while it would be difficult to control the cutting down of armaments. The Press of the world was united in discrediting the sincerity of Hitler's purpose and statements and interviews by prominent statesmen were published, purporting to show up German plots in the Ukraine, Morocco, or Spain. Even after such statements had been proved to be pure invention, nobody troubled to find out the truth, so the campaign of lies started again and was again believed. Molteno also says that 'Hitler is prepared to take an active part in all efforts which may lead to a practical limitation of armaments. He is prepared to agree to the prohibition of the dropping of gas, incendiary and explosive bombs outside the real battle zone and states that this limitation could then be extended to complete international outlawry of all bombing.'

But even these offers were refused scornfully, and the international Press represented Germany, Italy, and the Fascists as villains who would never carry out their obligations. The bombing of Guernica was described as the outlawry of German aeroplanes against civil population! But when the Soviets carried out gas-attacks against entire districts of the Ukraine, killing thousands of women, children, and old people, it was reported that they were putting down risings against a legally constituted government. In Siberia experiments with new gases have been carried out on political prisoners which made death by torture come as a welcome release.

Molteno says: 'Hitler also offered the concrete proposal for the air pact on the basis of parity of strength as between France, England, and Germany. He was prepared to agree on limitation which leads to the abolition of the heaviest arms specially suited for aggression such as (1) heavy artillery, (2) heaviest tanks. He declared Germany's readiness to agree to

any limitation whatever of the calibre and strength of artillery of battleships, cruisers, torpedo-boats, and of the size of warships, the limitation of the tonnage of submarines or their complete abolition in the case of international agreement.'

This was also rejected, in the majority of cases the pretext being that Soviet Russia must be a partner in such discussions. But Hitler and Germany knew that such partnership would only lead to further mischief and entanglements. If the Great Powers considered Hitler's proposals to be bluff, why did they not call his bluff and proclaim him before the world as Public Enemy No. 1 ? But they preferred to hide behind slogans and vague formulas. Especially painful for the Soviets and the Popular and United Fronts was Hitler's offer when, in the words of Mr. Molteno, he ' declared that he was prepared to agree to prevent the poisoning of public opinion amongst the nations by irresponsible elements, orally or in writing, through the radio or cinema, having already taken steps to this effect in Germany.' Here he was hitting the nail on the head. Besides, why should they restrain this, and was not Democracy free to say what it wished provided it was sufficiently equipped with funds to pay the expenses of a possible law-suit. The key positions in the Press were also strongly prejudiced against anything coming from Germany and in favour of anything from Soviet sources. But the last offer could be answered by advising Hitler himself not to indulge in talks and conferences with globe-trotters but rather to use the existing official channels of diplomacy. He should also beware of journalists of quasi-conservative tendencies who fly to Germany to interview the Führer and then publish a damaging interview. This, however, may be pardonable in view of the lack of diplomatic training of the Nazis and their ingenuous belief that in England the Press is the mouthpiece of the nation, and that by means of the Press one can reach the nation.

Of all the concrete proposals that were put forward only one was accepted, and accepted without raising a riot of propaganda against it : that was the offer to limit the German Navy to 35 per cent of the British. Here events have proved that the faith placed in Hitler in this matter was entirely justified. As this is so, why not do the same thing regarding his other offers ? Yet it will never be done because of the influence of Soviet Russia and the erroneous idea that Bolshevism may be used for this country's profit, even if it is to the detriment of the rest of the world. But this is a dangerous and

erroneous view which might well cause the country's downfall. Molteno's letter continues :

> 'In Hitler's speech on March 7, 1936, he recalled all these proposals and their complete rejection except the Naval agreement with Britain. Finally, on March 21, 1936 he made the offer of a most comprehensive peace plan to the British Government and people, including an offer to return to the League of Nations. This has had no answer, but a query was addressed to the German Government by the British Government in regard to certain points of the offer.'

The extraordinary thing was—and this is unprecedented in the history of diplomatic and friendly relations—that the query was couched in terms leaving no doubt of the suspicion entertained for Hitler and that before negotiating it would be necessary to have some assurance of his honesty ! Over and above this, on the day following the dispatch of this note the Soviet Ambassador, speaking at a public dinner in London, gave his audience to understand that the offensive query to Hitler had been suggested and censored by him. This also is surely without precedent in the diplomatic history of Great Britain or any other great Power.

Mr. Molteno concludes his letter by saying :

> ' Thus there appear to have been a number of opportunities open to British diplomacy for forwarding the conclusion of real peace in Europe and the restriction of the mad race in armaments. We are without information why with the exception of the Naval Agreement no advantage has apparently been taken of these opportunities.'

As an outside observer, I would like to reply to this question. First, England has not yet come to the stage where she can see clearly as far as World Revolution and Soviet Russia are concerned ; she is still too ready to accept superficial appearances without examining what lies below the surface. In the second place, a peaceful agreement in the West—even if it contains no middle clause directed against the Soviets—would mean the end of Sovietism and World Revolution, a possibility which would be most vigorously opposed by the Soviets and their friends in this and other countries. The only possible way to save the situation is, in my opinion, to be vigilant and re-arm. With a strong England in the world, the balance must inevitably revert to her favour—a costly balance maybe, but it will give time for the necessary knowledge and experience

to be acquired. Then, when slogans and generalities have been put aside, the nations who each in their own way have brought about their sound national revival will understand, respect, and help each other constructively and tolerantly. They will unite in a genuine League of Nations, not a League over Nations, to work for universal progress.

In the newspapers of this and other non-Communist countries beautiful little stories are published which it is almost beyond my power to describe. I will, however, refer to only one of them as a typical example. In *The Times* of 20 May a letter from Sir William Davison, M.P., is published under the title of 'Two Coronation Films,' in which he depicts the beauty and solemnity of your Coronation in the Abbey, remarking how excellent and befitting it was for the cinemas in the capital to show it to those who had not had the privilege of being in the Abbey at that supreme moment in the life of the Empire and Great Britain. But he experienced a rude awakening when immediately after this Coronation film another film was shown entitled *The Prince and the Pauper* in which, he says, 'a comedy is staged with bishops, choir, officers of State, and music practically identical with the real Coronation, but including the Anointment of the beggar-boy and other parts of the Coronation service rightly considered too sacred and intimate to be reproduced in the film of the real Coronation. To see a comedy enacted as described in the selfsame Abbey immediately after one of the most beautiful pictures that has ever been made produced a feeling of positive nausea and disgust.' For this, however, he blames the censorship, not the cinema; but others may say that perhaps it was only an unhappy coincidence—and this recalls an anecdote which I have often heard repeated in Russia:

In a college for the clergy the Bishop realized that one of the students was sceptical with regard to miracles and decided to try to convince him. So he asked him: 'If you climb up into the belfry, slip and fall down a couple of hundred feet without being hurt, what would you call that?'

'An accident,' replied the student.

'And if you go up again and the same thing happens, what would that be?'

'A coincidence.'

'But supposing you went up a third time and the same thing happened, surely you would not call that an accident or a coincidence! What would it be?'

'Habit!'

But in these days many such habits, coincidences or miracles

happen and when a certain system comes to be apparent in them, one must seek for more plausible explanations. . . .

The influence of Red Moscow inside China proper is systematically and constantly increasing, yet for various reasons this fact is being practically ignored in the European Press. In April 1935 the Swedish explorer, Sven Hedin, returned by way of Moscow from an extensive tour of Chinese Turkistan and his researches had led him to the conclusion that the huge province, though still nominally under Chinese sovereignty, had by 1935 virtually become a Russian Protectorate, which state of affairs in his opinion radically altered the conditions in Central Asia, for Russia thus had become a neighbour of the Indian Empire. He also added that Turkistan had become a purely Russian zone of influence.

This is a proof that Moscow is systematically trying to stir up trouble with the ultimate aim of drawing India into the Soviet system, not by means of war and conquest, which would seem an insurmountable task, but by means of subtle propaganda of which the result is apparent in the demands of the Congress Party. While the propaganda work was in its preparatory stages, Lord Willingdon discussed the matter in an official dispatch ; this is all the more interesting as his statements were made several years ago when the Soviets were making their push forward through Chinese Turkistan to the borders of India. I will here quote those parts of the statement dealing with the matter :

> '. . . There is the threat of civil disobedience, terrorism, Communism and communal hatred. Civil disobedience is at present in abeyance, but the leaders of the Congress Party have made it clear beyond all possible doubt that they have not abandoned the principal of civil disobedience and that they hold themselves free to revive it whenever it suits them to do so. Mr. Gandhi himself has also quite recently and publicly reiterated his belief in "non-violent disobedience to laws." Civil disobedience in some form or other will undoubtedly be an important weapon in the armoury of those who desire to wreck the new Constitution. . . . I am fully satisfied that the threat of civil disobedience is a sufficiently real danger to strengthen the other reasons which exist for retaining certain other provisions of the Act. . . . The position in regard to terrorism in Bengal has undoubtedly improved very appreciably since 1932, but His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has on more than one recent occasion impressed on the public that the terrorist virus is

still active and that the movement is still receiving a steady flow of new recruits. . . . In my opinion the relaxation of the provisions dealing with the Press would very quickly undo the improvement effected in Bengal and would stimulate recruitment to the Terrorist movement throughout India. The avowed aim of Communism in India is to bring about an armed revolution as quickly as possible by the armed insurrection of the widest possible masses of the working class, the peasantry and the revolutionary *petite bourgeoisie*. The dangers of the movement are not generally appreciated in this country because of its underground methods of working. But my Government has ample evidence of the determination with which those of its activities are being pursued and I am satisfied that it forms a very real though possibly not an immediate menace to the peace of the country. The last danger is communal feeling. Within the last six months there have been serious riots due to this cause in places as far apart as Karachi and Secunderabad, and also in the Agra district of the United Provinces, the Champaran district of Bihar and Orissa, the Rajshadi district of Bengal, and in Lahore. At the present moment communal feeling in the Punjab is more tense than officers with long experience of that province have ever known. In times of such feeling in India an uncontrolled Press is a most serious danger.'

I have given this report almost in full as it was published in *The Times* of those days because the position since then has not improved and the Moscow programme is still being carried out according to schedule. This is proved abundantly by the conflict over the new constitution, by the demands that the legal rights of the Governors should be abrogated, by the increasing warlike activities on the North-West Frontier and the restless situation inside the country. In the view of Moscow, India to-day is in the position of Russia before the 1905 Revolution and therefore revolutionary methods are applied to her. One of my friends, who owns mills in India, tells me that these have to be protected against incendiarism and riots by privately paid detachments of Gurkhas, in the same way as factories and property had to be protected in Russia in 1905. The Press is taking up a revolutionary attitude and terrorism is spreading, terror being the chief weapon of the Soviets in working for their aims. Propaganda is being used amongst the 'masses of the working class, the peasantry and the *petite bourgeoisie*' in exactly the same way as in the Russia of 1905.

It would be strange if it were not so, for the Third International of Moscow is working hard for its ultimate aim of World Revolution.

It is interesting to recall the Communist World Congress which took place in Moscow in April 1935 and which was attended by 1000 delegates from all parts of the world. This Congress had originally been fixed for the end of 1934, but it had been deemed more expedient to postpone it in view of the Soviet Union's entry into the League of Nations. The Congress of 1935 proceeded to launch a great Press campaign in this and other countries with a view to proving to misguided readers that Soviet Russia was growing moderate and democratic, and was giving up the idea of World Revolution. In the same way to-day, when the Soviets are growing increasingly Extremist and even reinstating political Commissars in the army, statements are published in the Press describing the evolution and democratization of Russia.

The 1935 Congress also drew up a programme for the international section during the impending second period of wars and revolutions and it also examined a detailed plan for rousing the masses to determined attempts to overthrow or replace existing governments.

This part of the programme was actually applied in this country in the autumn of 1935 when the attempt was made to bring in a revolutionary government and to enforce Socialist measures, i.e. the nationalization of banks, mines and transport, and the abolition of the House of Lords. With regard to the impending wars and revolutions referred to by the Congress, attempts were actually made to involve this country in wars with Japan over Manchukuo, with Italy over Abyssinia, with Germany and Italy over Spain.

The Congress also declared that Paris was henceforth to be the Siège Social of the World Revolutionary Movement directed from Moscow and the cause was considerably advanced by the organization of the Popular Front Government in France and United Fronts in other parts of Europe.

The following example will prove that France, after the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet Pact and the establishment of the Popular Front Government, has become the next victim of the World Revolutionary experiment. Whether the strong French middle class and the patriotic elements of the army will resist will be seen in the very near future. The first step in this experiment was the fusion of the Communist and Socialist Parties immediately after the Elections of May 1936. This was carried out on the initiative of Moscow for the purpose of

turning the French Government apparatus into a docile tool of the Communist International. For tactical reasons the Communists tried to efface themselves, pretending to be no more than the humble servants of a just cause in common with the Socialists. The three aims put before them by the Komintern were (1) disorganization of the government machine of a *bourgeois* State ; (2) Organization of a Communist ' skeleton government ' fully prepared to take over the government when Moscow decided that the time for doing so had come ; (3) Disintegration of the Socialist Party and its transformation into a body of Communist organizations. At the time of writing the Communists have already succeeded in subjugating the Trade Unions and Syndicates. Whoever may be the nominal leader, the actual dictator behind the scenes is the brilliant French Communist, Henri Raynaud.

The fusion of the *bourgeois* and Communist parties was carried out at the Toulouse Congress of 1936, by which time the Profintern (Red Moscow Trade Unions) had acquired complete control over the French Trade Unions and by to-day the combined organizations of the Popular Front and the Communist cells are in control of everything. The fusion of the Communist and Socialist parties into one proletarian party was sanctioned at the meeting of the Executive of the Komintern in Moscow on 22-26 January, 1936. All the chiefs of the foreign sections of the Third International were present at this meeting, where the French representative, Ercoli, stated that the French Trade Unions were directed by the Soviet headquarters at 33, rue Grange-aux-Belles, of which the chief is Henri Raynaud.

The first stage having been accomplished, Ercoli estimated that the second stage would take six months to carry out, but before achieving the desired control of the Syndicates it would first be necessary to get control over the mass of workmen, a more difficult task.

Moscow then arrived at the following decisions : (*a*) the recognition of the political necessity of the immediate fusion of the Socialist and Communist parties in France ; (*b*) In view of the delicacy of the task this is to be carried out by three experts : André Stavsky, Hans Milch, and Karl Toucki. Stavsky is an ex-president of the Polish section of the Komintern, Milch was formerly second-in-command of the German section of the Komintern, and Toucki ex-representative of the Komintern in China ; (*c*) The recognition of the necessity for the Communists to retain their right of independent action notwithstanding the fusion. It is as a result of this third

decision that the Communists initiate strikes, the occupation of factories, and organize the training of Communist shock-troops. After the arrival of the three experts in Paris the dictatorship of the Communist over the Socialist Party began and 240 Communist cells were organized all over the country. The work was carried out secretly, under the direction of five leaders, and the various committees and sections worked in the same manner as in pre-Hitler Germany, in the days of the Red Front.

The second aim was to enlarge the existing stocks of arms and ammunition in readiness for emergencies. A commission was formed to carry out work preparatory to taking over power and inquiries were made in every district as to how far the work had advanced and what supplies were needed. This preparatory work was to be completed in two months and full reports dispatched to Moscow for examination and sanction. In the April issue of the united organs of the Komintern in Bâle the following passage was published :

> 'The passing to the next stage in the revolutionary struggle in France depends at present on the unification of the Socialist and Communist Parties and the organization of the one and indivisible fused proletarian party of France.'

The foregoing has, I believe, given a sufficiently clear picture of Soviet activities in France, and I would now like to give a description of their activities in their own country, especially in regard to the most vital branch of any state, the railways.

Railways are such an important item that it is only natural that the Soviet should spare no efforts to perfect their organization. All charts and schedules intended to illustrate their progress begin in the year 1918, when the Soviets came to power. Considering the condition of the country in 1918, resulting from war and upheavals, it is only natural that the charts of any activities should show an improvement beginning in 1918 ; but this circumstance is made the most of in propaganda and is accepted unquestioningly by all foreigners and many Russians. If to-day's figures are favourably compared with those of 1913, one is also apt to forget that, if any organization continues to exist it must show some form of progress. In order therefore to judge what, if any, results have been achieved, it will be best to consider the special improvements introduced by the Soviets.

The railways show a marked increase between 1918 and 1933 : in 1918 Russia had 71,210 kilometres of railways and

82,000 kilometres in 1933. But if this progress is compared with that of the period 1895-1918, it no longer appears so important. In the first period, i.e., during the twenty-three years before the Bolsheviks came to power, an annual average of 1948 kilometres of railways was constructed ; the maximum figure attained was 5000 kilometres in the year 1899. In the second period, 1918-1933, i.e. the first fifteen years of the Bolshevik régime, the average was 720 kilometres of railways ; here the maximum reached was 1000 kilometres, which is incomparably lower than under the Tsarist régime.

The extension of the Russian canal-system has already been discussed elsewhere. Although this also shows an apparent progress not to be ignored for propaganda purposes, it must not be forgotten that it has immeasurable drawbacks for non-Russian parts of the Union such as the Ukraine, as the work is draining away the water so vital to the existence of that country.

Other Soviet activities at home, which are utilized in the propaganda campaign, are connected with education. In order to distract British attention from the more unsavoury side of the Soviet régime, such as framed-up trials, reinstatement of Red Army Commissars and so on, descriptions are given of the educational system. Readers are told that Russia is so anxious to increase her friendship with England and France that the teaching of German in schools has been replaced by English and French on a scale quite unheard of in capitalist states. They are told that 18,000 more English and French teachers are wanted ; 1000 pupils have started on a four months' speed-course initiated by a Moscow language institute ; 37 cities are planning a one-year course ; 23 cities are opening language schools for two-year courses.

The description of these activities in the *Observer* makes them sound most attractive, for it says : 'The Soviet's changing political, economic, and cultural orientation has influenced the growing interest in English and French at the expense of German.' It is also stated that Ivy Low, Litvinoff's East End wife, introduced the study of 'Basic English,' apparently consisting of 800 words. But is not this enthusiasm for English and French perhaps more truly explained by the fact that as the Soviets have lost Germany as a playground for World Revolutionary activities, they are turning their attention to France and England and producing the necessary advertisement for themselves in the Press of those countries by propagandists working in those languages ?

Another method of distracting the foreigner's attention is

to tell him about the 'Great Revival of Religion in Russia.' On this subject the *Daily Telegraph* reports on 8 May 1937 :

> 'The agitation for the reopening of churches leads *Pravda* to demand that the Communist Party and the Trades Unions intensify their anti-religious work, especially because it is admitted that the churches are succeeding in reaching the youth of the country. . . . A significant note is sounded regarding the methods to be used in combating religious tendencies. Crude methods such as the closing of churches without the consent of the citizens are categorically condemned by *Pravda* which warns zealous administrators that resorting to administrative measures only makes religion more firmly seated and renders the struggle against religion more difficult. . . . It is necessary to understand clearly that a religious person is not an enemy of the Soviet régime and that Stalin's Constitution ensures freedom to perform religious rites.'

This statement is extremely misleading, for it is written after 99 per cent of the churches had been destroyed or turned into cinemas and dance-halls, after the clergy had been exiled and tortured, and after parents believing in God had been reported by their children, as a result of which the OGPU dealt with them as reactionaries against the state where Atheism is *de rigueur*. The few churches that are left open are attended by old people who have nothing to lose, and by agents—including the well-clad and well-fed priests—who go there to collect the names of worshippers. What a travesty of religion, and how easy it is to attract foreigners by the description of religious freedom ! When Herriot visited Kieff, he asked to be shown one of the famous old Russian monasteries. As these had all been turned into Soviet institutions, one was quickly transformed again and OGPU agents dressed as monks filled all the cells. So Herriot left the country with the impression that religion was still free.

XI

THE TWO CAMPS

IN THESE DAYS OF universal struggle between the Rational and the Irrational, the only country that appears to be nearing a solution of the problem is, curiously enough, Hitler Germany. This fact was made clear to me by a conversation I had not long ago with the German Dr. Werner Daitz, the exponent of Hitler's ideology. To my question as to what was the difference between Nazism and Fascism he told me that these two conceptions sprung from two entirely different origins and resulted in two equally different systems.

He based his opinions on the fact that the Northern races which have since prehistoric times lived in the regions of the North Sea and the Baltic have always been united by the conditions of their race and manner of life; it was therefore not necessary to enforce their unity from above. They have made progress and worked out their own system. The peoples of the Mediterranean, on the contrary, were of mixed origins and were continually being joined by new-comers; for this reason they had to be ruled from above by drastic and dictatorial methods. The natural régime for the Northern races was the *Volkstaat*, or People's State. Here the People are the legislative body and the State its executive and the subsidiary medium. But in the Mediterranean we have the *Staatsvolk*, or People of the State, where the State is the predominant feature and the People are the medium.

'Only under a Dictatorship,' said Daitz, 'could the Mediterranean unities direct and organize the heterogeneous bodies of different races towards one aim. This leads to the fact that all state measures, laws, etc., dictated from above are necessarily rational, based on the rational deductions and endeavours of the leading group of Dictators. Here the intellect plays the leading part and the irrational has to submit to the rational—the habits and traditions of various races have to give way to the *raison d'État* of the whole. Thus we find the predominance of form over essence, of State over People, of Denominations over Religion.'

From this he concluded that the Totalitarian form of state

was for the majority of races inhabiting the Mediterranean areas a necessity if they wanted to be saved from chaos, Bolshevism and, therefore, ultimate downfall. He then went on a step further and expressed the view that the development of these ideas led to Imperialism and expansionism in the realms of politics, culture, religion, and economics.

Among the Nordic peoples, on the contrary, this principle was not acceptable, for with them the natural basis was the People's State. But these races (German, Swiss, Dutch, English, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish) are still young and, with the exception of the English, and now the Germans, they have not yet achieved the state form completely suited to their inner tradition and race.

Following out the view that the Mediterranean races are governed by Intellect instead of Instinct, so that the State becomes the aim and the people are merely the means, he arrives at a bold deduction and says that the expansionism of these powers makes them wish to impose their form of state—i.e. Dictatorship—on the Germanic and Nordic races by means of conquest and this has led to the Nordic nations being split up into small states. It was in fact the pressure of Mediterranean Imperialism that fostered Particularism in the Great Holy German Empire. This particularism was eliminated when Hitler came to power and restored the traditional principles of the People's State, which was based on many thousand years of Nordic and especially Germanic tradition. He considered that the controversy between Leadership and Dictatorship, between the People's State and the State of the People, would have come to its climax four hundred years earlier had not the European people discovered the American and Asiatic continents. Then Daitz went on to discuss the present day and said that the Fascist state that has arisen in the Mediterranean areas is the prototype of the *Staatvolk*.

With regard to England, he considered that this was the first People's State directed not by orders from above but by Public Opinion. It is Irrational and develops naturally, and public opinion is the basis of the Crown, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. These are in fact only the Executive of public opinion. It is the spirit of the people that directs rather than law, or the irrational rather than the rational. The Englishman, he said, does not think in ideas; he thinks practically in pictures and habits. He hates pure intellect, doctrines and pure theories and the might of the British Empire lies in the community of instinct and the perfect understanding of its peoples.

Then Daitz went on to discuss the National Socialist Revolution in Germany, which is the beginning of a great revival of Nordic culture, starting with the German race and excluding England. It is a revolution against an artificially imposed State culture and an economic structure inimical to the instincts of that race. He sees the rebirth of Nordic nations in their forms of a People's State.

It is not my intention to discuss the correctness of these views, but I have quoted them because they illustrate the principles now being applied by the leaders of Nazi Germany. Whether or not they are based on historical realities, the fact remains that they have been ruthlessly and successfully adopted. It is also interesting to note that the German leaders regard Fascism as an entirely different form of regeneration suited to the Mediterranean races and which, when it was imposed on the Nordic races, led to chaos, disunity and downfall.

According to these theories the Germanic People's State, which for geographical reasons cannot expand inside Central Europe, must seek economic expansion eastwards because expansion westwards would upset the balance of Europe, for European balance is in Hitler's opinion the *sine qua non* of peace and civilisation. It is also interesting to note that Hitler, the head of that revolution, always acts on the basis of Instinct, never on the basis of a prepared formula. He lets things drift, and when instinct tells him that the right moment has come he ignores all that his advisers have told him and acts. He believes in the resuscitated middle class stratas and has blind faith in God—not the denominational God, but in the irrational principle of an eternal God. The speech he delivered on 28 March, 1936 contains the following passages :

> 'Once the grace of God was upon us and we were not worthy to keep it. Providence withdrew its protection and we were cast down lower perhaps than any people before. In this dire need we learned to pray once more. We learned to respect one another ; we believed again in the virtue of a people ; we tried again to be better. So there arose a new community, and this people of to-day can no more be compared with the people that lie behind us. It has become better, more decent and noble. We feel it ; the grace of the Lord is at last turning towards us and in this hour we fall on our knees and pray to the Almighty to bless us, and to give us strength to endure the struggle for the freedom, the future, the honour, and the peace of our people. So help us God.'



Weltbild Hoffmann, Berlin

SIGNOR MUSSOLINI AND HERR HITLER PHOTOGRAPHED IN BERLIN DURING THE FORMER'S RECENT VISIT TO GERMANY

Here it is the Irrational that is speaking, and all that has been decided by the instinct of the new-born middle class will be protected against attack.

An example of the victory of the Irrational over the Rational occurred in England, this evolutionary middle class community, which made a deep impression on me. This was when a revolution was almost caused by the proposal to make certain alterations in the out-of-date Prayer Book. The outcry was so unmistakable that the matter had to be dropped. It was the same in the Constitutional Crisis, and those who wished to utilize it for their own ends were defeated in spite of the support of nearly all the Press, the Fifth Power.

The importation and enforcing of foreign creeds can never be anything but dangerous and destructive to a nation, and this is a matter which brings me to the subject of the people inhabiting Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. An outstanding example of the danger of superimposing foreign creeds, is given by the instability of Poland. This is a Slavonic nation which has accepted a Latin form of culture. To express the Slavonic language the Latin alphabet is used ; this results in unwieldiness, as often three or four Latin letters have to be used to express the sound of one Slavonic letter. Then, the race which is more closely allied to the broad-minded Greek Orthodox conception of religion has been forced to adopt Roman Catholicism with its rigid forms ; and this has resulted in the duplicity and hypocrisy of its religion. It has also resulted in the Church being a mere political weapon in the hands of those who happen to be at the helm of a country with vaguely defined frontiers, and including in its 30,000,000 inhabitants more than 12,000,000 non-Poles. These minorities are being subjected to denationalisation, a system which caused the collapse of Poland's former master, Tsarist Russia. Among these minorities the Jews play a very prominent part, even although they live under conditions recalling the mediæval ghettos, are dispossessed, hated, and persecuted no less drastically than those under the Tsarist régime. Yet nearly 40 per cent of commerce and finance are in their hands.

Polish philosophy also is foreign and has not evolved from the Polish soul. It was first made up of a mixture of the teachings of Kant, Hegel, Comte, and Mill ; later French Intuitivism and American Pragmatism were added. The only philosophy appropriate to Poland and other Slavonic nations is the Messianic ; but that is not so much a philosophic system as a derivation of love and faith. This proved fatal to the Slavs in the past because it led them to try and impose on the world all

that they believed themselves : Panslavism to begin with, and now the call to 'Proletarians of the World, Unite,' which, of course, means the introduction of Marxism in our lifetime. A typical phenomenon of the Slavonic nations is that their ideas have not produced great outstanding philosophers, though the general mental level was high. Mysticism is also highly developed among the Slavs because, being continually in a state of discontent with reality, they try to compensate themselves by something from the 'other world.' Religion and philosophy are in fact inextricably linked up with each other, as is proved by the Russian word *Pravda*, meaning both 'truth' and 'justice' (not to be confused with the Soviet 'Pravda' !).

Thus in the Slavonic races we see that the rational predominates over the irrational, which is the contrary of the English or German outlook. In fact, the main difference between an Englishman and a Russian is that the Englishman thinks illogically and acts logically, while the Russian thinks logically and acts illogically.

There are now various concrete facts which I would like to discuss, the first being the Peace Ballot which was launched by the nearly defunct League of Nations Union. This questionnaire was so subtly worded that no normal person could refrain from signing it and many millions of replies were received. Even if I do not know England sufficiently well, I do know Continental Europe enough to repeat the remarks I made in a letter published in *The Times :* that this was a misleading action dangerous to international peace. I pointed out that as the outside world was so full of dissatisfaction and envy, this dividing of England into two more or less equal camps on such a major issue as peace and war would only encourage this outside world to attack her and drive her into the arms of war.

This letter brought me hundreds of replies, mostly insulting and abusive ; I was called a warmonger and advised to apply for admission to a lunatic asylum. The worst of these letters, by the way, came from Dissenters. The letters were so abusive that I began to find them amusing, and I took the trouble to reply to each, inviting the writer to my Club for tea and a discussion—if they were not afraid of meeting a lunatic. I sent out about two hundred of these invitations, but not one writer had the courage or sense of humour to come and see me. The whole affair was, however, not without value for me, for I discovered that dozens of my correspondents were members of the Left Wing admiration-societies of Soviet

Russia. As I have already referred to these societies at some length, nothing more remains to be said!

The state of turmoil apparent in the world to-day is the result of contradictory teachings and interests. The materialist teachings of Karl Marx have caused the entire world to take sides in a controversial issue tending to overthrow all standards of spiritual and economic values, as well as of the social and political life of nations and individuals. Materialism has gradually led up to mechanical acceleration—but acceleration is not civilization, and the whole problem has degenerated into a race between the supporters of materialism and those of the older spiritual ideals.

The Papal Encyclical of this year discusses Communism, the outcome of Marxian materialism, as follows:

> 'Communism is founded on the principle of dialectic and historic materialism advocated by Marx, of which the theoreticians of Bolshevism claim to possess the only genuine interpretation. According to this doctrine there is in the world only one reality—Matter, the blind forces of which evolve into plant, animal, and man. By a law of inexorable necessity and through a perpetual conflict of forces matter moves towards the final synthesis of the classless society. In such a doctrine it is evident that there is no room for the idea of God. There is no difference between the matter and the spirit, between body and soul. Thus man's liberty is destroyed. Every right of the human person is denied. The dignity and indissolubility of marriage is set aside. The family is profaned, woman is turned from the home and the care of her children.'

Communism is the creed dominating one-sixth of the globe, and is threatening to flood the rest of the world. The nations opposed to it therefore seek to protect themselves against this onslaught by rallying round the Mother-country. This tendency is particularly apparent in the various parts of the British Empire, which stands out as an example to the rest of the world. The first Colonial Conference was held in London half a century ago, and now Mr. Baldwin has been presiding over another great meeting, the Empire Conference, held with a view to strengthening the bonds that unite the various parts of the Commonwealth.

Ever since that first Conference in 1887 the force of the Empire as a living organism has been increasing and developing, thus protecting itself against destruction from either within or without. To the Continental observer this immense

Commonwealth must appear as something of a miracle, for it spreads throughout the world and is apparently only very weakly joined together; yet it is strongly united by mutual interests and, above all, by the free will of the component parts. In his Coronation Broadcast King George VI summed up the whole idea very wisely and simply—for all great truths are simple—in the following words: 'Never has this ceremony itself had so wide a significance, for the Dominions are now free and equal partners with this ancient Kingdom, and I felt this morning that the whole Empire was in very truth gathered within the walls of Westminster Abbey.'

To us Ukrainians these words are doubly significant, for we have passed through the Revolution and have seen what force and subjugation mean, how they brought unprecedented tyranny, ruin, bloodshed, and starvation to the richest part of the world. We are in a position to realize what it will mean if the mad world of to-day succeeds in converting a world of peace and progress to a world of Marxist Communism. There are people in England and elsewhere whose one aim is to undermine the existing harmony of the Commonwealth, and if their number increases it can only be due to lack of knowledge and experience. Some of these are only seeking personal aggrandisement and are therefore unimportant; still one has to beware of their insistence on England's common interest with the Soviet experiment.

The safety of the British Empire lies in the elasticity of the Constitution and the free will with which its principles are accepted. In this respect Baldwin, the greatest citizen of the ideal world, declared: 'Let us dedicate afresh, if need be, ourselves to the service of our fellows, a service in widening service to the home, to our neighbourhood, to our province, to our country, to the Empire, and to the world; no mere service of lips, but the service of our lives, as we know will be the service of our King and Queen.' I, as a humble refugee, am fully convinced that he spoke no more than the truth with regard to himself, for he has served all his life, thinking first of his duty and very rarely of his rights.

The question why a small island on the north-western edge of Europe should in the space of three centuries have become the centre of an immense Empire is easily answered by the words of the King's oath, when he solemnly promises to govern 'according to their respective laws and customs the people not only of Great Britain and Ireland but of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South African possessions and other territories any of them belonging or

pertaining, and of your Empire of India.' British authority has succeeded in impressing even the most backward people —natives, as they used to be called—with the spirit of mutual trust and co-operation. Outside the British territories the world is in a state of turmoil, suffering from the struggle of the rational against the irrational. Only one country is on the way to finding a solution to that problem, and that is Hitler Germany, as I remarked at the beginning of this chapter.

I would very much like to say some words about Mr. Baldwin from the point of view of an unbiased foreign observer who has often enjoyed the hospitality of this, the freest country in the world, more especially because he and all he stands for bears directly on the theme of this book, which is the regeneration of the Middle Classes as a constructive counterpart to the disruptive forces of Communism.

First and foremost, Mr. Baldwin is the personification and supreme expression of Tiers État common sense in England and the Empire. Instinct is placed above logic, tradition above theory, evolution above revolution. It has always struck me that Baldwin was impatient of logic and that he spoke rather with the inborn common-sense instincts of an English gentleman. The views he expressed were the outcome of the experience, not of one man, but of the whole nation. As Pertinax wrote of him: 'He seldom lost touch with the man in the street.' Lord Halifax also defined him very ably when he said:

> 'With an unshakable trust in the character of his race he had been able at critical times to give the country a new faith in itself and, just because he seemed so truly to embody many of the things which the British race instinctively admired, he had been able on occasions both of great anxiety and deep national rejoicing to stand out as the interpreter of the thought of the entire nation.'

He knew how to appeal to British feeling and tradition, not in the cold light of a registering statistician, but in that of illogical instinct. He knew how to protect Parliamentary privileges and the Monarchy, an institution which would seem antiquated in this materialist epoch; yet, unlike other monarchies, it has withstood every onslaught. Materialism as the supreme principle is repugnant to every Englishman and especially to Baldwin, who was continually warning his countrymen against the 'slavery of the mind to the things of the body.' He had about him something of the amateur, or

the artist, who feels how he can present ideas so that they may be understood and accepted by the rank and file.

The *Sunday Times* said of him that he 'brought with him into politics a certain amateur status and he has persistently maintained it. The amateur of a game is one for whom the game itself matters nothing except in so far as it produces certain desirable conditions of mind and body. He takes risks that no professional would take. . . . Unlike most politicians he served no long apprenticeship to the craft.' This is proved by the manner in which he dealt with the Empire Conference, for in this he had no precedent to guide him. Yet he dealt with all problems in a spirit of superhuman instinct and broad-minded generosity which should serve future generations as an example of progress and civilization. He said that the British Commonwealth of Nations was the greatest political experiment that had yet been tried in the world, and warned his audience that its failure would mean disaster unprecedented in history, for if Great Britain went the world would go and would have to be replaced by another world, a revolutionary world, the introduction of which in one-sixth of the globe had brought those living in its territories to the greatest oppression, madness, and degradation known in the history of the civilized world. It is not self-interest or trade which will hold the British people together, he said, for people have quarrelled over trade in the past and they will do so in the future. They can only be kept together by common ideals, common inspirations, common love of freedom of the individual and of the body politic. 'Let us have sympathy and understanding of each other's problems, then we shall be less liable to criticize.'

He went on to express the instinct of tradition in his countrymen, wherever in the Empire they might be, by pointing out that the Empire was not evolved by a logician, but that it had grown to what it is by the work of ordinary men who had to adapt the government of the country to the environment of the age. Thus he made it clear that the Government is the servant of the nation or, as the German would say, a *Volkstaat*. He also said that it was a mistake to insist on definition, for it was this attempt to define that split the Christian Church into fragments, an idea which recalls Hitler's views that religion is more important than denominations.

Baldwin also considered that if we attempt to define our Constitution too much we may split the Empire into fragments so that it may never come together again. This warning is well worth considering, for such attempts at definition are often only attempts to undermine the Empire.

If in these days England and the Empire have to be warned against foreign disruptive theories, however attractive they may seem, how much more dangerous is it to impose them on countries less fortunate than England from the geographical, political, and economic point of view! Baldwin's concluding phrase was very much to the point when he said: 'I have been at many Imperial Conferences and I have been in London on many occasions. Visitors have come to us from all over the world, but I have never known such a feeling of the family in London as at this time of the Coronation.' United, not by force but by mutual interest, freely adhered to and freely applied.

This process may serve as the greatest spiritual example to other nations, but before it can crystallize their bodies and souls must be purged from the pernicious teachings of Communism. On the one hand there is the imposition from above of Revolution combined with mental, moral, and physical distress, and on the other there are evolution, tradition, and history which dictate progress to this and other countries. Baldwin was right when he said at the Imperial Conference that 'We are partners in a great enterprise, jointly responsible for a new experiment, the success or failure of which must profoundly influence the future of mankind,' and every European who has the civilization of Europe at heart should follow the example of this experiment and wish it success. He also said that 'we do not underestimate the value of the idea to which other ways of government attach supreme importance—the idea of service to the State. We ought constantly to remember this necessary aspect of life in a community; the individual rights require to be completed by the fulfilment of duties to the community. And what is true of a community of individuals is equally true of a community of nations. It is essential to keep this in mind when studying the development of other nations, and if with individuals not all is identical, nobody supposes that the same ought to be applied to nations.'

This is one of the best formulas I have ever come across and it ought to be applied to a future real League of Nations. But in order to achieve this it will be necessary to build up a nucleus of reborn national unities—not Imperialist and aggressive unities, but unities that are internally strong with definite national aspirations. They must be bound together on the basis of national interests, national frontiers, national habits and inspirations. When Baldwin expressed these opinions, he spoke not only as a prophet, but as what the Germans would call a *Realpolitiker*.

With regard to important economic problems, Baldwin

indicates the manner in which these should be solved, not only by the members of the British Commonwealth, but by the world as a whole. He says that 'it is generally agreed that any question connected with the Ottawa Agreement could be best dealt with by discussion between the individual governments concerned, and some discussions of this nature have already taken place.' This means that bilateral discussions are the best way to a settlement and that they can as a second step become general. For in order to achieve universal peace one must advance step by step through individual and bilateral discussions, not by way of general formulas whole-heartedly applied by Idealists and exploited by swindlers, for the swindler is the satellite of the Idealist.

Mr. Baldwin also refers to the importance of the problem of the present trend of population, which requires careful thought. It is particularly urgent in Continental Europe, where a large industrial population is crowded into a limited area. If peace may be attained within the Empire by mutual agreement and common interest, how much more urgent is it to preserve peace, the prerequisite of progress, for the benefit of European civilization and to find a solution of problems without referring to dead-letter treaties of the past. If the British Empire is not a static body, the world as a whole is still less so, and in the recognition of this lies the guarantee of peace—provided there is sufficient common good will to set aside difficulties and dead formulas, and refuse to be influenced by the desires of those who aim at destroying the world by forcing it into the strait-waistcoat of a Communist Utopia.

Baldwin, in his speech on Imperialism, pointed out the ways and means to attain to progress and peace, and he could not but realize that a world such as he described would be built by future generations. He explained his views to the young people who came to the Coronation from all parts of the Empire ready to hear and learn about the immortal principle of love for one's country and one's neighbour in the best and highest sense of the word. His appeal to the Empire was based on the two ideas of Defence and Co-operation, and he spoke with the experience of a great Englishman and patriot, of a Conservative in the broadest sense of the word. In this address to the Empire Rally of Youth he appealed to the young people to combine 'our dreams and visions, your eagerness and strength, and my experience.' These appeals to the Empire Conference and to the Youth Rally were absolutely typical of the man who is the personification of the English Tiers État in the best sense of its best traditions.

All that Baldwin does he does with grace, never forgetting to put duty before rights and the interest of the country before that of the individual. He retired at a moment when he considered that he had accomplished all that he had it in his power to do and before he began to grow unequal to a high office. What a wise and gracious gesture this was, and how much would nations profit if others realized that they were no longer at the height of their efficiency! Even his most bitter opponents, Mr. Attlee and Sir Archibald Sinclair, acknowledged his powers, the former saying that 'future historians will be at one in proclaiming him a great Parliamentarian both in judging the sense of this House and in responding to its moods. They will also record him as one who inspired affection as a man even in those who were most opposed to him as a politician.' Sir Archibald said of him that 'as the leader of a party the Right Honourable Member for Bewdley was a generous and chivalrous opponent. As the Leader of the House we knew that its honoured dignity was safe in his hands. And as long as spaciousness of mind and spirit and therefore breadth of human sympathy and understanding are qualities which are honoured in this country so long will he be reckoned among the greatest of our Parliamentary men.'

How graceful and encouraging these words sound!

These remarks would not be complete without a few words on the representatives of the Dominions who came to London for the Coronation. They did not come only to bow to tradition, but to discuss plans and affairs with other members of the Commonwealth, which has grown into a true and genuine League of Nations. Who were these men who came to the Coronation as the delegates of the Dominions? Australia sent Joseph Lyons, Canada sent Mackenzie King, Hertzog came from South Africa, and Savage from New Zealand. Whether they represent Labour, or are good Catholics like Lyons, or lawyers like Mackenzie King, they are all typical because they are the representatives of the post-War middle class, a class which has taken its outlook and code of ethics from the progressive and evolutionary Mother-country.

This alone is a guarantee of the soundness of progress, where no wild theories are enforced or experimented with. In the remotest outposts of the Empire this middle class is perhaps even more sensitive to the necessity of upholding the sound principles of evolution rather than revolution, and of strengthening the links with the Mother-country. Thus it is perhaps hardly surprising that in any crisis threatening the Empire

they are *plus royaliste que le roi* whether they call themselves Socialists, Liberals, or by any other name. They are aware of the need of the national outlook in a wider Empire sense and uphold it more firmly than those at home. They simply cannot afford experiments, theories or exaggerations of any kind ; they form national democracies within the nation and a national democratic structure in their relations with each other. They are in fact equal democratic partners, not as a result of enforced theories, but as a natural result of the evolution of their countries.

But if all these countries are living in such perfect harmony, what is the use of worrying, one might well ask. The answer is that the forces of destruction, aware that the time for making mischief is limited, are beginning to grow desperate in their desire to overthrow everything. In the words of Trotsky, when Petrograd was threatened by anti-Bolshevik forces : ' If we are forced to go, we will bang the door so that it will reverberate throughout the world.' Trying to ignore facts is the best way of encouraging a vigilant, systematic, and ruthless enemy who is imbued with fanaticism and aims at ousting all his opponents. When it is said that certain régimes may be all very well for other countries, but that they can never touch England, this is a very dangerous outlook and gives people a false sense of security. And it also accounts for the unhindered spreading of subversive propaganda. Marxian Socialism, as well as being strong and well organized, is anti-national and therefore anti-British. To use it as a weapon against a possible ally is as dangerous as playing with an infectious disease in order to infect the enemy.

If one studies the lists of members of many of these various societies and organizations—such as the League Against Imperialism, Left-Wing Movement, Workers' International Relief, Friends of the Soviet Union, Anti-War Movement, Anti-Fascist Congress, etc.—organizations banned by the Executive of the Labour Party because they are connected with the Communist Party—one will find that these members always belong to the same group and are all fervent believers in the Moscow cause. One will also notice that almost as soon as the public become aware of these societies they fade out and their members reorganize themselves into some new society with an innocent name and attractive slogan. These societies usually choose as their head some conspicuous figure, preferably a Pacifist such as George Lansbury, but the members actually in charge are also members of such organizations as the Congress of Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R. These

people make out that they alone stand for peace, while war-mongers and profiteers are opposed to the Soviets. Letters pour into the British Press, of which I will only quote one by Mr. Geoffrey Drage which discusses Hitler and Mussolini and says :

'These two last movements believe in, and openly work for, the regeneration of a nation by war as a panacea for its internal problems, while Communism proceeds more by peaceful penetration, by propaganda, and underground methods.'

This obviously implies that the enemies are Fascism and Nazism, while Communism is only a harmless propaganda campaign. Some years ago the *Observer* expressed the opinion that Soviet Russia is a Conservative stabilizing force in Europe. The editor of a very Conservative paper in this country wrote to me in September 1934, and his letter included the words : 'Bolshevism is more of an episode in the history of the world, while Prussianism reinforced by Hitler is likely to become endemic. Therefore I fear Hitler more than I fear Bolshevism.'

Thus the work of propaganda is proceeding systematically and showing results. Every issue, every controversy are made use of by the Soviets and well-known names are quoted among the lists of new proselytes to the Moscow cause. Even religion is always a fertile ground for controversy and destructive criticism aiming at the undermining of morals and belief in God.

To the political student, the manner in which Left-Wing propaganda is permeating all social, political, and economic affairs can be compared to a huge army preparing to attack the rest of the world, and which is always seeking the place of least resistance for its attack. The smallest rift caused by any controversy is thus immediately used to insert the thin end of a wedge of propaganda. The leaders of this propaganda are also always ready to distract attention from undesirable events. Thus if something occurs inside Russia which contradicts what the Soviets have preached, some unimportant issue is immediately chosen to serve as a red herring and the foreigner's attention is diverted from what he ought not to see. An example of these tactics was given not long ago, when Moscow reverted to methods of undiluted militant Communism. The Polar Expedition was staged and the foreign Press was apparently far more interested in this achievement than in the reinstatement of military Commissars and the shooting of Red marshals and generals.

This is only one example, but I might quote hundreds of others. I even know of cases where Soviet propagandists

camouflage themselves as society clairvoyants in order to influence the highbrow members of all classes. Everything goes to prove that the only method of fighting against the effects of this propaganda is to acquire knowledge, for ignorance is the cause of much harm. It is only necessary to study the methods of Moscow in various countries, for, being international, revolutionaries apply the same methods in every part of the world. Sometimes they succeed, other times they fail, especially in places where national tradition will not submit to international formulas. But care is always necessary and the aim of this book is to persuade my English readers of the need for watching each move in the Bolshevist game.

As a result of abnormal post-War conditions the Intelligentsia, or highbrows, have shown themselves ready to accept the Utopian theories of the Extreme Left, in many cases perhaps in the hope of becoming leaders of the movement and thus satisfying their personal ambitions—political or otherwise. But when dealing with the lower classes, or even the 'down-and-outs,' a long campaign of systematic propaganda is needed before they can be induced to take part in the active work.

The explanation of this appears to me to lie in the fact that the line dividing the lower middle class from the upper proletarian is extremely vague, so that propagandists often attack the wrong group and apply to the proletarians the methods more adapted to the lower middle class. The process, however, has resulted in the formation of two groups: one turning towards Labour, which with the increasing prosperity of the country accepted the principle—psychologically, not in the Party sense—that Democracy becomes Conservative when it has something to conserve, and this formed a group of National Labour character, but without joining the official group of this name. The other joined the United Front with the Communists.

I believe that the fact that the idea of the United Front is upheld by the noisy and idealist highbrows has greatly hindered the aim of the Communists being achieved, for the lower classes instinctively despise the Intelligentsia, and the more the Intelligentsia allege that they are representing the interests of the masses the stronger does this contempt and suspicion become. Therefore the so-called masses have sorted themselves into groups of their own accord, and Moscow's efforts are now directed towards the penetration of each of these groups, by whatever name they may be known, as a first step

in the Bolshevik campaign. The thing they dread most at the present juncture is the selective process of cleansing the country from Communist poison. They have achieved considerable success in the Upper Set and its numerous Left-Wing clubs and organizations, which include more than forty thousand members, but they are all the more disquieted by what is going on in the lower strata—and after all it is these, not the degenerate Upper Set, that stand on the barricades. Therefore Moscow is doing all in its power to prevent any disunity which would place the majority out of reach of the minority. This process was particularly clear in the proceedings connected with the now disbanded Socialist League.

Even although it is difficult to make prophecies, I would like to suggest that the obvious programme for to-day is to unite the upper and lower middle class into one national bloc backed by all that is sound, sane, and patriotic among the other classes. Extremism, whatever form it may adopt, is like a rash which towards the end of an illness becomes unpleasantly irritating and thus often leads the layman to believe that the whole organism is going to the dogs. It is almost certain that a similar process will take place in France where a middle class is already in existence. But here we have the danger of the French mentality which, should the Popular Front Government raise the cry that 'La patrie est en danger,' would immediately respond without realizing that the Government was acting under the orders of Moscow and was making use of the slogan not for the sake of France, but in order to achieve World Revolution.

With regard to the Socialist League, the proceedings connected with it were typical of the Communist efforts to guide the masses towards World Revolution. The upholders of the United Front were defeated at the last Labour Party Conference at Edinburgh by the considerable majority of 1,827,000 to 592,000. They then attempted to make the idea more attractive by various devices, such as a campaign in the distressed areas, trying to open the door with the key of the King's Party. But these also failed. The Extreme Left grew increasingly nervous and blamed the genuine Labour leaders for refusing to consider their ideas. Yet Labour continued to stand firm and declared that a United Front with the Communists would be harmful, and that expulsion was the only solution for those who insisted on it. The Socialist League, under the leadership of the parlour-Bolshevik Sir Stafford Cripps, continued to uphold the idea of the United Front, and it was therefore decided to expel the Socialist League

from the ranks of the Labour Party. The affair is described by *The Times* as follows (10 April, 1937) :

'Having decided to expel the Socialist League for disloyalty, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party has issued a statement of its reasons and has renewed its appeal for loyalty to the party, its programme, and the decisions of the Party Conference. For more than three months a persistent campaign had been proceeding on behalf of what its promotors describe as "working-class unity." Its promotors are the Communist Party, the I.L.P., and the Socialist League. The campaign is being conducted by means of a large number of public meetings and through the Press owned by these three bodies. Large sums of money, the sources of which are not disclosed, are obviously being spent on this campaign. Its object is to bring the Communist Party and the I.L.P. within the Labour Party. Members of the Labour Party who are taking part in this campaign are acting in clear defiance of repeated and emphatic decisions of the Annual Conferences of the Party. This statement of the essential facts is therefore issued in order to enable members of the Party to deal with misrepresentation and misinformed criticism.'

The report then traces the course of events and recalls how efforts were made last autumn to induce the T.U.C. and Labour Party to admit the Communist Party to their councils, or else to join with the Communist Party in United Front activities. These efforts were unsuccessful and at many succeeding conferences emphatic decisions against such association were made. In spite of these repeated rebuffs the Communist Party again and again applied for affiliation, which was again definitely refused at the Edinburgh Conference last October. The report continues :

'No single proposal has ever received such frequent consideration nor been more repeatedly and emphatically repudiated by Annual Conferences of the Party. Within a few weeks of the Edinburgh Conference negotiations were begun by the Socialist League, an affiliated organization with the Communist Party and the I.L.P. for the purpose of initiating a so-called Unity Campaign on the lines specifically condemned by that Conference. Later the terms of an agreement were drawn up and arrangements made for their simultaneous submission to the three organizations concerned. It was this circumstance which led the

National Executive Committee to issue an "Appeal to the Movement for Party Loyalty" on January 12. Last month came the decision of the Executive Committee that continued membership of the League will render members ineligible for membership of the Party—a decision to be enforced from June 1. These decisions have been taken, the statement says, with the greatest reluctance, but unless a small minority is to be permitted to defy the will of the majority, there is no alternative. The Communist Party claims to be "a voluntary organization based on iron discipline demanding unbounded loyalty to the Party" as the chief characteristics of its membership. It takes not only its money but also its orders from Moscow and must obey them slavishly. Mr. Harry Pollitt at the Unity Campaign meeting in London on April 3 stated, "It is said I take my orders from Stalin: I plead guilty." The Labour Party has never exercised an iron discipline nor does it demand unthinking loyalty. It encourages free discussion and it has been tolerant in its fellowship. It seeks a loyalty to its general principles, based on understanding and a democratic consent. In this particular case, the national executive committee has not acted hastily, but only after its appeal for loyalty has been completely disregarded.'

After calling on all Party members to give their support to the recently published 'short programme' of legislative measures the statement calls for a real, and not a sham, unity, the real United Front being that of the Socialist, trade union, and co-operative movements. It adds:

'It is a matter of deep regret that some members of the Party instead of concentrating all their efforts on this great work, have preferred to embark on a disruptive campaign, which distracts the attention of the movement and diverts valuable time and energy from more important tasks. The national executive committee hopes that, even now, these members will abandon this campaign and will loyally join in the constructive activities of the Party. If not, the Party must go forward without.'

Whether the trade unions, co-operative societies, and moderate Socialists will follow the majority remains to be seen, but a split is also a possibility.

XII

SOME AFTERTHOUGHTS

SOME TIME BEFORE THE War I was going through old family letters and papers when I came across the diary of an ancestor who had lived, travelled, and worked in the eighteenth century. It was a thick volume bound in Russia leather, very neatly written, and it concluded with an admonition which engraved itself on my youthfully receptive mind :

'Having carefully read my diary, whether you are a relative or a stranger, close this book, spit over your left shoulder, make the sign of the Cross, and pray to Almighty God to spare you other people's experiences, however good and practical they may have been.'

Apparently there were optimists in those days who thought that some people might benefit by the experience of others—even if these experiences should happen to be connected with the Devil, as was implied by the injunction to the reader to spit over his shoulder and scare him according to an old Russian practice. My long experience of life has eventually forced me to the conclusion that the experiences of other people and other nations are neither convincing nor encouraging. Individuals and whole nations are always ready to criticize others and say : 'Yes, they were fools ; they did not know what to do or how to do it, poor idiots. But we are different —we know what we want and how to get it !' Therefore my aim in writing this book is not to try and teach people how to succeed where we have failed, or even to impress them with our experiences and the lessons to be learnt from them. All the same, it does perhaps contain some sort of moral.

The student of history past and present has the privilege of recording his advice on paper, whether it is accepted or not, and even although a preacher's voice may be as one that crieth in the wilderness, that fact has never yet prevented him from preaching. So I will confine myself to putting forward one plea to all, and that is the plea : Acquire knowledge, genuine knowledge, and again knowledge ! For it is extraordinary how in our days, with all our magnificent opportunities for learning, people, groups, and even leaders are ignorant

—not only about matters concerning the other hemisphere, but about matters in neighbouring countries. I am convinced that often this is not genuine ignorance, but rather the unwillingness to learn. The speed of this century has outstripped civilisation—as Baldwin said, Acceleration is not Civilisation, and for the majority the lack of time for study has resulted in the application of formulas, mottoes, and slogans to fit all eventualities. Slogans make it impossible for people really to understand their neighbours and I cannot but think of Thackeray's poem in which the words occur :

> In Africa—a quarter of the world
> Men's skins are black, their hair is crisp and curled ;
> And somewhere there, unknown to public view,
> A mighty city lies called Timbuctoo.

In our days this Mighty City Timbuctoo seems to be spreading all over the world, threatening to engulf knowledge and sound reasoning, even as regards one's own country. Formulas and slogans, passions artificially worked up to fever heat, and the nervous strain of modern life certainly call for some steadying influence and this can only come by acquiring knowledge. The forces that are trying to uproot nations and individuals out of their environments and scatter them like leaves before the storm that is intended to sweep everything away to make room for a Communist Utopia, are more numerous and far more dangerous than people in their false sense of security wish to believe. The continued application of untruths have not failed to have their effect on the souls of people and nations, so it is time for responsible readers to ponder over these facts and to learn to distinguish between the ephemeral and the permanent, the constructive and the destructive, and to prepare a plan if they wish to save civilization and culture, tradition and progress, from the hurricane of ruin.

It is not too late to clear up many of the untruths which for years past have been told to the credulous. An outstanding example of these is the assertion that ' even though the Soviet régime has many sins, it has done one good thing, and that is to save Russia from the bloodthirsty Tsarist régime.' Yet even the Soviets will not deny that during only three years 2½ million people were shot by the Cheka, while according to official Soviet statistics only 3500 were shot or hanged during the twenty-four years' reign of Nicholas II, the last Tsar. I have not the least desire to whitewash the Tsarist régime, but this example must prove how the rank and file will accept any assertion if it is repeated to them often enough.

Another untruth that has been accepted as fact in many quarters in this country is the statement that the Soviet régime is growing increasingly democratic, moderate, and evolutionary. Also the beauties of the new Constitution are pointed out in the same futile manner that was adopted on previous occasions when it was desired to attract the attention of the foreigner to 'definite signs of moderation and democratization.' But on such previous occasions the cases in point were the NEP, or period of foreign concessions, or the self-determination of non-Russian nations within the U.S.S.R. Then there is a recent occurrence which ought to annul the effects of the systematic campaign of propaganda for Russia and her Great Leader, Stalin, who was supposed to be working for Democracy and freedom, and that is the liquidation of the Old Guard Bolsheviks, the group that built up and directed the entire world policy of the Bolshevik Party. But a servile Press explained this by stating that Stalin, in his desire to introduce the new Constitution, first wished to get rid of the old Extremists, but it refrained from pointing out that many of these 'liquidated' men were party members, who in their aims and outlook were in many cases far less extreme than Stalin himself. But such details do not concern the Press ; all it has to do is to obey orders.

People certainly were rather shocked at the methods adopted for this liquidation of 'Extremists,' but as usual they found explanations and extenuating circumstances, saying : 'Oh, that is all very well in Russia—in our country Communism can never take that form ! '

Then the news was spread that Stalin was becoming National, that the Red Army is no more Bolshevik than you or I, and that the Cheka has lost power or, indeed, had been entirely abolished—as though its new names, OGPU then COMVNUDEL, meant something different. To prove the truth of this latter statement came the news that Yagoda, chief of the Comvnudel, had been arrested, tried, and was to be liquidated. Hereupon the same papers that had consistently praised the Bolshevik régime and its heads—Kamenev, Trotsky, Lenin, Yagoda, etc.—suddenly disclosed how all those who had been liquidated were the greatest scoundrels in the world, and traitors to their own ideas and the ideals of the nation, how Yagoda and his friends had appropriated millions by means of confiscating property only in order to enrich themselves.

Stalin in consequence rose to yet higher pinnacles in the eyes of the people for having to put a stop to such things, and wiped out this diabolical crowd of degenerates, maniacs, and

sadists. The Red Army was like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion ; it was the hero of the day, a National Russian Army. From all quarters then came the voices of the White Russian leaders, each trying to outdo the other in his praise of Russia, which was now becoming National. Many of these, especially members of the Young Russian Group, even sent their parents back to this new National Soviet Russia—but, having handed over their parents to Stalin's régime, they are now more than ever dependent on the Moscow rulers.

Friends of the Soviets could hardly find sufficient words to express their admiration of Russia while they poured scorn on the Fascists, for they contemptuously labelled as Fascist everything that was anti-Bolshevik, while apparently impartial onlookers considered that there was nothing to choose between the two. But then came another thunderbolt : the shooting of the chiefs and builders of the Red Army, Tuhachevsky, Korks, Uberovitch, etc. Even *The Times*, supposedly well informed, wrote fulminous articles against Stalin under the title 'Yesterday's Heroes,' in which the following passage occurred : 'Yesterday's heroes are being execrated as monsters of turpitude ; a nebulous and condemnatory epitaph has been issued. . . . In the eyes of the world M. Stalin has become slightly more fabulous and Russia slightly less formidable.' And this after many months of descriptions of Stalin's evolution, democratization, moderation, and tendency to nationalism, and of his intentions to refrain from interfering with the rest of the world, being content to build up Socialism in one country !

In its love for impartiality, *The Times* tries to find some excuse, if not for Stalin, then for Voroshilow, saying that he 'probably does not acquiesce with enthusiasm in the butchery of his ablest generals.' *The Times* even becomes rather angry with Stalin for having put the leading paper of the world into the awkward position of having to confess that its diagnosis of the Russian situation had been essentially wrong, and it says : 'M. Stalin is clearly in an abnormal position ; unless he curbs his fantastic suspicion it seems probable either that they must sooner or later fasten upon Voroshilow, or else that the latter will ensure that Stalin's bad dreams play no more havoc with the destinies of Russia.' It also describes Marshal Blücher, Commander-in-Chief of the Far Eastern Red Army, as a political dark horse with a big reputation. I wonder how long it will be before we read in *The Times* about Blücher as the man who saved the Red Army for Russia ? It goes on to say that 'of the eight men shot as German spies almost all were

well known for their antipathy to Germany.' This is very nicely said: 'Almost all,' as it leaves a loophole for the future when 'new' and 'authentic' documents prove the contrary.

The Times rightly goes on to say that 'the courts sat not for the purpose of establishing the guilt or innocence of the accused men, but simply in order to compel them to repeat in public the substance of interminable and damning admissions which had been extorted from them in prison.' But is this all new? Has it not always been the basis and practice of Soviet justice, even in the days when *The Times* and other papers were going out of their way to prove that Stalin's Russia was becoming more democratic and evolutionary? Does *The Times* not know that the Soviet Penal Code is based on a system of terror and that a great majority of paragraphs are backed by the supreme penalty as well as being so formulated that, according to them, every citizen in Russia from Stalin downwards can be accused of crime if it is so desired? This has surely been shown many times by events under the Soviet régime. It is not only a question of extortion, because extortion presupposes the fact that a case may be an exception to the rule, but it is in fact a rule, a system, and often no extortions are needed because the accused cannot according to the Penal Code be anything but an offender against it.

The Times also says that 'the weight of circumstantial evidence is unimpressive'—but what does that matter, and how can it alter the line decided upon by Stalin and his friends? There is another point in this same article which must come as a surprise to the reader who has grown used to reading in the English Press the 'impartial descriptions' of eyewitnesses who were allowed to travel freely in Russia, and that is the following passage:

> 'Permission to visit the Soviet Union is granted only after reference to Moscow and the visitor is hedged about with regulations and red tape while he is in the country. Permission to reside there is obtainable—even by Communists with the most blameless dossiers—only with very great difficulty. Nor is the mildest form of treasonable activity an easy matter for native Russians. Telephone lines are tapped, the correspondence of the consequential or the suspect is assiduously supervised by the OGPU.'

If one applied the arguments prevalent in this country, one ought to point out to *The Times* that Soviet Russia under Stalin is in a process of democratization and evolution, and that such hideous things as the OGPU have not existed for

years (omitting to mention that it has only changed its name to COMVNUDEL). But this is a minor detail.

The Times indignantly states that 'M. Stalin does not choose to make public the evidence against them.' But, I ask, why should he do so and change the Soviet system in order to calm the righteous indignation of *The Times*? It goes on: 'The Red Army commands the affection and admiration of the entire Russian people. It has stood—a monolith, in Moscow metaphor—aloof from politics and has kept out of scandals.' From where did *The Times* get that idea? According to the rules and constitution of the Soviet, the Red Army is the weapon of class warfare and of World Revolution. This is not an empty phrase, as for the past twenty years the Red Army has been trained in that role—whether successfully or not is another matter.[1]

The Political Commissars directing all its activities were almighty, they were even superior to the technical Commander-in-Chief, until such time as it was deemed necessary to dismiss them, for it was discovered that the Red Army and its commanders were one hundred per cent Communist and servile weapons in the hands of Stalin, head of the Third International (he never occupied any post in the Soviet Government, which is only the Executive of the Third International). These facts about the Red Army have never been denied, or even camouflaged. But after having missed this very important point, *The Times* explains matters by saying: 'The Kremlin to-day is the seat of an absolute despot. Over it brood violence, fear, hatred, and suspicion interrelated and expressed in much the same way fundamentally as they were at the mediæval court of a Tsarist Khan. No one can fail to note the change which has come over Russia in the last three years. But these great impersonal struggles are in the background now.' These last words, no doubt, refer to the assertions of Russian democratization and evolution, but the climax of all the false assertions lies in the words. 'The Five Years Plan . . . has slipped off the front page, giving place to what? To something intensely but obtrusively personal, to the symptoms of conflict generated primarily by the fears and ambitions of one man.'

This gives an impression of climbing down awkwardly in order to explain everything by Stalin's personal ambitions. It is only the natural result of such books as Gunther's *Inside Europe*, which speaks against all Dictators with the exception

[1] By August 1938 we can sum up the figures and see that some 40 to 45 per cent of the officers of the Red Army have been 'purged' or 'liquidated,' or whatever one chooses to call it in Soviet jargon.

of Stalin, who is apparently the only one striving for evolution and the benefit of nations ruled by him. This exploding of a conscious or subconscious fallacy is rather difficult and a loophole must be left open so that in the future the theory of democratization, evolution, and moderation can again be brought in, only to be exploded once more when the respite is past.[1] But for those who know, and who do not wish to be hoodwinked by Soviet propaganda, the truth is that Stalin and the Soviets have never given up their principles and aims: everything else was propaganda and respites in order to *reculer pour mieux sauter*. Stalin is one hundred per cent Communist: he stands for World Revolution, to which everything is subordinated.

Try and picture Stalin sitting in his fortress, the Kremlin, and directing World Revolution. He has never been abroad. He has turned Russia and its resources into a springboard for World Revolution; he has agents all over the world who, unless they wish to be recalled and executed, *must* report that World Revolution is progressing, even that it is on the point of materializing, and that therefore one must be fully prepared. According to Lenin and Stalin, World Revolution has at its command the following weapons, which it is continually and systematically applying:

(1) The achieving of struggle and war between the non-Communist states; (2) Simultaneously to undermine these states with slogans; (3) When that has been achieved, to throw in the Red Army to mop up opposition and establish the Soviet World State.

As far as the first two points are concerned, Stalin no doubt believes that all is progressing favourably in spite of occasional unimportant hitches; for this he has the word of Litvinoff and numerous reports from reliable agents of the Third International. Only the third link of the chain seems weak, for when it comes to mopping up the rest of the Continent there might be a slight danger of a Thermidor. For the Red Army, like the Soviet industries, transport, science, etc., have been built up by 'Specialists' according to the Communist programme: whether this task has been completed or not depends on what Stalin understands by completed. The Red Army still remains a powerful weapon, and Stalin and

[1] This loophole was in fact utilized when, on 5, 6, and 7 July a series of three articles appeared in *The Times* repeating and accepting all the old fallacies. They describe the new middle class which is appearing and taking Russia in hand, Stalin's idea of limiting Socialism to one country, and the improved conditions of peasants and workers. Yet the same issue reports new purges and slaughterings of those who are no longer useful.

the Third International are convinced of its complete reliability and its loyalty to World Revolution. But in order to make doubly sure, the Specialists of the Red Army were liquidated by means of framed-up lawsuits, by exile, by being passed on to the Trusts of the OGPU—or COMVNUDEL—such as Canals, etc., for most of them were Stalin's enemies or renegades from former régimes. And if they were renegades once, they might become so again under certain circumstances, for they might find the idea of Thermidor too attractive.

Should there be even the remotest hint of such a possibility, then Stalin and his confederates, whose religion is the programme of World Revolution, would feel justified in instigating the most ruthless liquidation, for they demand uncompromising Communism in order to produce the *tabula rasa* necessary for World Revolution. Stalin first used the Specialists as a technical instrument and then, when he considered that the psychological moment had come, he used them to liquidate the Almighty Yagoda, Chief of the Comvnudel. This occurrence was utilized by Soviet propagandists abroad to prove how Russia was obviously becoming National—less Communist and more democratic! Hereupon, with the aid of the Comvnudel he liquidated the chiefs of the Red Army, i.e. the Specialists and those whom he did not consider to be completely reliable in case of emergency. He does not doubt that the time for World Revolution is approaching, for he judges by the reports of his agents in the same way as the Tsarist rulers relied on the reports of their ambassadors, as in the case I described when my uncle reported to the Tsar concerning events in China. These reports, whether of agents or ambassadors, are always framed with a view to advancing the reporter's personal status.

Pravda, official organ of the Soviets, published an article on these 'traitors' entitled: 'For Spying and Treason to the Fatherland—To Be Shot,' of which the concluding words are—in capitals: 'THE GREAT PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION HAS CONQUERED UNDER THE BANNER OF THE PARTY OF STALIN-LENIN FINALLY AND WITHOUT APPEAL IN ONE SIXTH OF THE GLOBE: UNDER THIS BANNER THE PARTY WILL CONQUER THE WHOLE WORLD.' This phrase is no doubt the answer to those who know the position and who are aware of the aims of Stalin and the centre of revolution.

The Times had nothing to say about this—how could it, after many months of wishing to believe in Russia's moderation, democracy, and evolution?

After these trials, who is now in actual power in a harassed

Moscow? Stalin, who could act freely, as he was supported by the entire World-Revolutionary cause; Dimitroff, ruthless, hundred per cent Communist and head of the Third International; and, to complete the trio, Blücher-Galen, an Austrian and, according to *The Times*, a dark horse—but not so dark for those who know him, for he is an Austrian Communist of long standing, and has worked successfully for World Revolution in the Far East by helping Borodin to organize the fifteen Red provinces of China and the Mongolian Soviet Republic as a Red stronghold on Chinese territory. Blücher-Galen came to Moscow with a division of his Mongolian cavalry who, proletarians though they might be, do not speak a word of Russian and could easily be used as an effective weapon against those elements reluctant to support World Revolution.

Voroshilow and other nonentities obviously had to follow the course of liquidation. From the point of view of technical efficiency this meant a loss to the Red Army, for they were efficient Specialists, but from the point of view of World Revolution Stalin was right, even reckoning with the faint possibility of a Thermidor. For Stalin and his friends considered it better to have a weak Red Army under drunken or illiterate leaders than a talented and efficient Tukachevsky. The purge, however, is continuing, and the Red Army has reverted to the 'emergency position' of 1918–1920, when the commanders had at their side the Political Commissars of the OGPU in order to supervise them and check their orders. The aim is obviously to replace the liquidated individuals by hundred per cent Communists. In this country the idea has taken firm root that Communism and Fascism are identical.

But the people who assert this forget the essential difference that, where Fascism and Nazism are national, Communism is international and anti-national, that the former are for God and against the Atheism of Communism, and believe in the property of the Tiers État, while Communism upholds collectivism and the complete abolishing of private property and initiative. We see how this easygoing and untrue formula that there is nothing to choose between them is applied, even during the Coronation, when jokes were apparently out of place, and the German Ambassador was seated next to the so-called Spanish Ambassador, and Field-Marshal Blomberg next to another international Extremist representing Spain. Perhaps this was only done in order to hint to the Germans that in this country of United Front adherents they were merely being placed next to their friends in England?

I have often been asked how it is that the Soviets are making such progress and spending so much money on propaganda in this country. The explanation is that the propaganda is both conscious and subconscious, and is carried out by a huge apparatus both outside and within the country; as for funds, those at the disposal of the Soviets are enormous, for they own one-sixth of the globe with all its wealth exploited by slave-labour. There is another fact which explains the funds at Russia's disposal in this country: the basis of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement was supposed to be 'pound for pound,' that is to say that for every pound's worth of goods bought from Russia, Russia would buy one pound's worth from England. But in spite of this agreement England buys from Russia far in excess of what she sells to her. Even including re-exports, the balance last year in favour of Russia was about £12,000,000.

In the five years 1929–1933 England bought from Russia goods to the value of £124,000,000, while in the same period Russia bought from England goods to the value of only £40,000,000 or, allowing for invisible exports, £50,000,000! Thus there was a balance of trade in favour of Soviet Russia of £74,000,000, or an average of £15,000,000 a year. How unfair this competition is even from the point of view of pure economics is proved by the fact that a British seaman is paid £8 15s. 6d. a month, while the rate of pay for a Soviet seaman is £1 10s. 6d. a month. It must not be forgotten that the balance of £15,000,000 in favour of the Soviets is in the hands of the Moscow World Revolutionary centre. This state of affairs can only be compared to a man asking me to lend him five pounds so that he can buy a revolver with which to shoot me, whereupon I take out my wallet and politely hand him the desired sum!

What is going on as a result of undiluted propaganda is surprising to the unbiassed onlooker. There is, for example, the evacuation of Basque children to the U.S.S.R. which is proceeding openly. Handing over these children to the Soviets as hostages for future revolutions, and sending them to an atheist state where they will be brought up in atheism and complete negation of European principles, is surely a moral offence. I have reason to believe that the batch of children chosen for Soviet Russia was specially picked from among the families of the nobility and *bourgeoisie* in order to make their unfortunate relatives dependent on the Moscow protectors of their children. But the enormity of choosing Russia as an asylum for the children strikes nobody in a world permeated

with the humbug of pro-Soviet propaganda. With regard to humbug, I read a very humorous notice in the *Sunday Times* of 13 June 1937, in the section entitled 'Chronicle of the Week.'

This was a few days after the Press, including the *Sunday Times*, had voiced the righteous indignation of this country about the bombing of towns and villages and their populations unarmed against aircraft. The notice ran as follows: 'Aeroplanes, and the terror they inspire rather than the damage they do, have again proved the most humane weapon of frontier warfare.' The notice comes under the title of 'A Brilliant Campaign' and deals with Waziristan and the North-West Frontier revolt! We all know that in theory the Press is impartial, but when passions are running high and emotional ignorance is being so well exploited one often sees the mote in one's neighbour's eye and not the beam in one's own. It is about time that patriotically minded directors of the Press began to consider this matter, which may turn out to be a boomerang that can hit back very effectively. The continued reiteration of untruths not only influences those at whom it is aimed, but oneself as well. The user of Soviet propaganda will eventually be destroyed by it.

At the time of the Coronation, when the Duce would not allow descriptions of the ceremony to be published in Italy, the *Daily Telegraph* published a leading article on this bad policy entitled 'The Duce's False Move,' and said in it:

> 'The Duce has chosen a moment when he has just been celebrating the first anniversary of his proclamation of the Italian Empire to remove from his fellow-countrymen the opportunity of knowing how a more traditional Empire commemorates a solemn occasion. To express high dudgeon in so petty a way can scarcely be effective even as propaganda. . . . The damage in the country offended is done either deliberately or by the blunders of ignorance, but it is done by her own citizens and with them the responsibility rests.'

How true this is and how generally should this argument be applied! In these days the impartiality of the Press appears to be rather antiquated, but there are occasionally signs of the awakening of the middle-class conscience and voices, formerly ostracized by the Press, are being increasingly heard, not necessarily by means of articles, but furtively, in the shape of letters to the Editor. I would call this 'The Return to Common Sense.' As an example of this I would quote an excellent

letter from Lord Hardinge published in *The Times* of 24 May 1937, as it is quite unbiased, correct, and very much to the point. In it he discusses 'the real and grave danger to which the peace of Europe may be exposed by the provocation of the susceptibilities of other countries.' He says:

> 'If this country is to play a decisive role in Europe we must be sure that the methods we employ are such as to encourage the concord of peace that we all so ardently desire, and that they will not estrange foreign powers who may stretch out the hand of friendship towards us. . . . Such methods cannot be those of acute controversy, self-righteous homily or coercion in any form. Until comparatively recently diplomacy was carried on within restricted limits by statesmen and professional diplomats, but since the late war it has developed into the practice of an infinitely wider intercourse between national communities, acting and reacting upon one another. The result has been that the words of politicians and publicists who are neither responsible statesmen nor professional diplomats, exercise an infinitely greater and more direct influence on the general conduct of international relations. In totalitarian countries dictators having effectively co-ordinated expressions of opinion in the countries they control, the same liberty of political thought and expression does not exist as in freer nations and, consequently, any provocation or criticism of foreign countries can be traced directly to their Governments. Such methods would never be tolerated in our country, but I cannot but feel that if we are to make our conciliatory influence strong, and strong enough to prevent war, we must try to adapt public opinion to the new age by developing in it an instinctive practice of national diplomacy.'

This appears to me one of the most important problems, but I believe that the happy solution lies in the common sense of the middle class and the principle of not doing to your neighbour what you would not like him to do to you. Unfortunately the points of view differ in various nations and the British method of *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re* is described as an encouragement to weakness. But here again the practical common sense of the middle class in Europe will discover what is the 'national diplomacy' of which Lord Hardinge speaks. But Lord Hardinge goes on to say that he does

> 'not advocate any curtailment of established liberties, but I do enter a plea for more restraint and moderation.

What do we gain by nagging reiterations in Parliament and outside, by exaggerating facts or by passing from dignified maintenance of principles to the making of comments and criticisms that cannot but be regarded by some foreign countries as deliberately offensive. A national diplomacy should be practised towards all countries, both great and small, with a special bearing on our relations to the great dictatorships. What seems to be needed is a policy of appeasement in our relations both with Italy and with Germany. The avoidance of opposing "ideological" blocs in Europe is we are told one of the fundamental bases of our foreign policy. Let us remember then that the task to which we have set ourselves is no longer to make the world safe for democracy, but to make the co-existence of democracies and dictatorships safe for the world.'

In other words, as I have already said, each country, each nation, is passing through its national revival backed by what is largely known as the mainstay of European countries: the middle class; each in its own way according to its national traits, tradition, and history, and in the countries where national revivals are taking place their progress is the natural reaction to Extremism. Above all, the forms suitable for one country must not be imposed on another; national interests and characteristics will find their own form and the common enemy of all is war and revolution with all appertaining to them. It is a strange fact that sound reaction begins in those quarters that were first inclined to play the arbiter with regard to other nations.

I would like to refer to a happy turning-point in this country where freedom of the Press is the result of the evolution of national thought and national endeavour, and quote an article entitled 'Welcome News' of 16 June 1937. In it long-forgotten truths are recalled, truths which ought to be heartily welcomed in these days. Among other things it says in connection with Baron Neurath's visit to London as a guest of the British Government:

'What is required before all is that a joint and thorough study of difficulties and the interests that concern both countries should now be competently, responsibly and quietly taken in hand. Nothing can be gained now by embarking upon any consideration of their scope and content. For four years Anglo-German relations have been the target of a long-range bombardment by notes and declarations, set speeches, and newspaper articles, and every month that

passes has proved that open covenants cannot be openly arrived at. For efficient peace-making chair and table are to be preferred to rostrum and platform.'

This is very true, but why has the Press in this country as well as on the Continent for so long played the bugbear of National States by praising the Soviets and Popular Front organizations which were opposed to them? *The Times* wisely concludes that it is 'a promising move long overdue.' Overdue is certainly the right word, and the globe-trotting peacemakers, friends of Soviet revolutionary methods must, whether they like it or not, be condemned into the background of oblivion. Common sense based on national interests is now coming to the fore and must be given a free hand.

The highbrow member of the Intelligentsia who in the transitory periods succeeded in climbing to the topmost branches of the bureaucratic tree, thus becoming a political globe-trotter and figuring in the front pages of an internationally minded Press, will gradually disappear. He will only be remembered as a comic figure, as blandly smiling and perfectly dressed as a Regent Street tailor's dummy, hiding his ignorance of fundamental facts by his charm of manner. His one fear was to be thought a pedant, so in the midst of serious conferences he would always be seen in smart dancing places where he could mingle with other highbrow international nonentities. He cared more for the lobbies of dance-halls than for serious ministerial lobbies, but he frequented the one in order to achieve success in the other. He always tried to keep himself in the limelight of the Press, he would go to church because, as he would put it, his 'Dear Auntie' would be distressed otherwise—but in reality he was afraid of losing her money. Thus his protests against religion were limited to denominations, not to God or religion. Such highbrow Ministers always remind me of the clever society lady of the pre-War St. Petersburg smart set who was said to possess all the qualities to attract everybody, 'even scientists'!

This woman once confessed to me that before her At Home day she would learn by heart several pages of an encyclopædia and then, having an excellent memory, she would hold her guests spellbound by her erudition. 'You know,' she told me smiling, 'no one has ever guessed my secret, and who would dare to interrupt the hostess or try to change the subject!'

I remember one other incident which illustrates the acceleration of our century where the cut of one's coat and one's bank balance count more than brains and tradition. This particular

incident occurred at Lausanne during a Conference to which, as to all conferences in Geneva, Lausanne, Paris, or London, the international highbrows swarm like bees in order to gain information for their Governments—or for themselves—and to look important. At that time the climax of the evening was always reached in the dancing room of a certain hotel. Here one day a mysterious diplomat appeared who danced gorgeously, spoke so wittily and, above all, looked so fascinating. His dancing partners made up all kinds of tales about him, and his mysteriousness was enhanced by the fact that suddenly, in the middle of a dance, he would stop, bow to his partner, and disappear as suddenly as he had appeared. This raised his reputation sky-high and he became even more attractive, more elegant, more mysterious. His path was literally strewn with broken hearts, and one of his many aristocratic admirers named him 'L'Eminence Grise.' But suddenly one evening the whole affair came to an abrupt end, an end which showed the mental level of those who attend conferences. As he was dancing, there reverberated through the hall a mighty 'Damn!' from the mouth of Lord Curzon who had appeared in the door-way. 'Damn! Where is my white waistcoat? Where the deuce is my white waistcoat?' he roared. This time the unfortunate valet had not noticed His Lordship's approach and had missed carrying out the mysterious fade-out that had so impressed the highbrow international set. . . .

As I have already said, the return of Europe to sanity—apart from Russia, the centre of World Revolution—is visible and is no doubt a good omen for the future. We see it in England, in Germany, Italy, and in Spain which is trying to rid herself of the plague of revolution and World Communism. Now we will witness France trying to rid herself of that abnormal *mariage de convenance* between a Tiers État France and a Popular Front. We see that in less than a year the Popular Front Government has, according to Flandin, squandered the so-called Equalization Fund of more than 40 milliard francs and is now facing the crisis of finding £164,000,000 in the coming six months. It is becoming obvious that the Popular Front, this veil of World Revolution, is not a good stick with which to smack the enemy, but is in fact a very dangerous one. Its days are obviously numbered, for the Tiers État will step in and clear up the mess, restoring France to the position of a first-class European Power, a national Power with strong conservative and constitutional middle class traditions which is friendly to other nations where middle class revivals have taken place in their own way.

Agreement will then become possible between the nations of Europe, the mad race of armaments can stop and the armaments be pooled for use against Extremism, for peace against war. At the present moment this race in arms is intolerable, but it is the only way to check those who want to fight everybody. Its burden is unbearable, especially when one remembers that taxation in a victorious England amounts to £16 3s. 7d. per head, while in Germany, defeated and ruined by war and revolution it amounts to £11 12s. 6d. per head, but in the United States it is barely £8 10s. This proves how abnormal are the conditions of the world to-day as a result of the general suspicion fostered by the elements of Red Revolution. Even in America Extremism seems to be growing anxious and if Roosevelt, the deity of yesterday, is not careful and does not stop playing for popularity by tampering with tradition and making wild promises, his career will come to a sudden end. For America is also *potentially a middle-class State*. The first writing on the wall appeared when he began to tamper with the traditions of the nation which is expressed in the Supreme Court. The Senate stood up against this intrusion and rebuffed Roosevelt who had been so enthusiastically elected. It openly described his project of reform as turning the Courts into a tool in the hands of the Press, and said it was a 'needless, futile, and utterly dangerous abandonment of constitutional principle,' pointing out that 'Progress is not a mad mob march, it is rather a steady invincible stride,' which is a paraphrase of Baldwin's expression that 'Acceleration is not civilization.'

Here again we see the innate instinct of common sense of the nation standing up against intrusion, even if the intrusion comes from yesterday's pet who was elected President.

I would now venture to give a few words of advice to my readers, not as axioms, but merely as ideas to be considered, for they are the outcome of many years' experience in which turmoil and peace were intermixed and which I have survived after being a participant in some cases and an onlooker in others. 'Democracy must be saved from itself,' said Baldwin, but in order to save itself it must first know where it stands and then it must rid itself of the web of lies and half-truths which has been imposed on it by those wishing first to use it as a weapon for the destruction of the existing régime, then to supplant it by a World Utopia which is not only the antithesis of democracy, but its most ruthless and subtle enemy. I have already mentioned several untruths—or half-truths, if you prefer, and here are some more examples to complete the narrative.

Somebody once said : ' One can cheat one person all his life, one can cheat the world once, but one cannot cheat the whole world all the time.' When war came it was only natural to blame one side for it. It was perhaps natural, though unwise, that having defeated the enemy, the whole burden of what is known as War Guilt should be put on him ; but to continue with these methods, thus causing bitterness and suspicion, is very poor policy, more especially as it is far from being based on truth, as I had the possibility of ascertaining during my service in the Imperial Russian Foreign Office. Yet the persistence on this point perpetuates the abnormal position, the bitterness, and the feeling of injustice which often leads to an inferiority complex, to strife and demoralization, and in politics to extreme and unsound conclusions and behaviour. As passions began to grow calmer with the passage of time something else had to be found by those who aim at *tabula rasa* before building up their Communist State, so the Big Bad Wolf of Fascism was selected to describe everything which is opposed to their aims. Here again truth is replaced by half-truth, and this again by lies. Thanks to the technical appliances of these days the process of reaching the individual, party, or whole State has been simplified and a half-truth developing into a lie may easily be traced—but the mischief may already have been done. The result is general distrust leading to moral deterioration, instability, chaos, and Bolshevism.

Another case of half-truths turning into lies is the declaration of the principle of self-determination of nations where the Versailles Dictate (you can hardly call it a Treaty) was applied and where defeat brought Bolshevism and chaos in its train. In Europe alone, not counting the U.S.S.R., there are over forty million people described as ' national minorities,' although in the territories they inhabit they form a majority handed over to foreign rule and domination. A dishonest ignoring of this problem and a pretence to deal with it by promises that are never fulfilled, has filled Europe with extreme bitterness and a waning belief in truth and justice, a circumstance that has been exploited to the full by those expert mischief-makers of Moscow. When people in this country make a plea to ' make the world safe for democracy,' might I suggest that it would be better to make the world safe for truth, no matter whether it does not suit one party or the other, for half-truths can only end in a cataclysm the end of which even the greatest brains of our days cannot foresee. I do not advise the seeking of absolute truth, as there is no such thing, but there is the good will to

work for genuine progress, for altruism as a higher and more cultured form of egoism.

The common sense of the middle class, wherever it may be, is steadily coming to the fore, as I have tried to prove in this book. Only look at the Imperial Conference which will help to bring the British Commonwealth of Nations nearer to the ideal of the League of Nations with no compulsion but the ardent desire for discovering the truth and for discriminating between the genuine and the ephemeral, and the common interests of its members. There is no doubt that the Imperial Conference was an unqualified success because it was genuine and because it rested on sound foundations, not on perpetuated lies; nor was it ordered and dragooned from above. What the people of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand put forward as their first recommendation was to detach the League of Nations from the Covenant, that is to say to put it into a practical form and bury the hatchet of Versailles with all its injustices, whether deserved and practical or not, and aim at some form of appeasement based on equality and justice.

The fallacy that Communism and Fascism are one and the same thing may be of temporary use, but it will not hold water in the face of time, nature, and history. For England, Fascism is a still-born child, but for other nations it is a national revival. The repetition of this fallacy is merely the exploitation of ignorance, but ignorance is not eternal, and a day of reckoning will come. The common sense of the rank and file voters has been stirred up and they will no longer accept nonsense.

However much we may dislike or approve of either Fascism or Communism, each is the antithesis of the other. One stands for Nation and Patriotism, the other denies the nation and preaches the Internationalism of World Communism; the one stands for the irrational—God—in the life of men and countries, the other works for militant atheism; the one is for private initiative of the post-War middle class, sometimes helped, sometimes hampered by the State, the other denies private property and stands for the collectivization and complete socialization of everything from the means to the results of production.

There is also another danger which must not be overlooked, and that is the danger of generalizations and slogans. These may possibly result in acceleration or standardization, but they differ from the truth and turn life into a fool's paradise which appeals to Idealists as well as to swindlers, for swindle and idealism go hand in hand, each exploiting the other. The predominance of the ephemeral over the organic is the plague

of to-day because it is the result of ignorance, not so much of the lack of good will. Some of the masses of to-day have no capacity for the contemplation of the beauties of life based on tradition and progress. They only seek to fill their time with mechanical processes, the ephemeral appearing before the organic and the progressive. In art, music, politics, social life, and economics it is the same, while those who aim at revolution and the complete destruction of all belonging to the past are turning individuals and nations into anonymous ciphers and tools for the diabolical game. But the revival must and will come, and its postponement will only result in an excessive price being paid for it.

We Ukrainians who carried, and still carry, the burden of those wild experiments and the most inhuman subjugation known in history, know that nobody will help us except ourselves, and that the most attractive formulas presented to us by the Poles and the Soviets have turned our lives into an unbearable hell with the acquiescence of the European Powers and people. Only God and ourselves can help, and we are doing it, our weapon being genuine knowledge. By acquiring this we have acquired the hopes, the energy and the belief that dawn is coming. For the German races, principles have dawned in forms that suit their history and tradition: Nazism for Germany, Fascism for Italy.

Spain, which is passing through a mad period of Extremism brought in from abroad in order to be tested on her soil, will also awake. It has produced great patriots with the Spanish tradition of the Hidalgo: chivalry and the unbounded capacity for sacrifice for God and country, of which the personification is Franco and his handful of men who knew how to light the sacred torch of patriotism and tradition, and who cannot be stopped, no matter what half-truths or absolute lies may be spread about him and the Spaniards. Knowing them as I do, it is ridiculous to suppose that the proud, chivalrous Spaniards will in normal life tolerate for one moment any foreign methods and foreign dictation. The national leaders of other countries well realize that national revival takes the forms appropriate to the nation involved and that it cannot follow a foreign pattern.

France, with its cultural and historic achievements will also hold itself aloof from foreign formulas. The tradition of the Tiers État is there to see to this, and a reborn France will dismiss as a nightmare all the Extremisms of foreign Marxian-cum-Communist pattern. What price she will have to pay is another matter, because the plague has taken root in every

realm of life, and the deeper the roots are, the more painful it will be to extract them. The bulk of the Tiers État, however, has been and still is sane, and the words of the eternally young 'Marseillaise' will become a reality.

For you, my English friends, whom God has saved from Extremism and who have been granted the soundness of the people, Evolution instead of Revolution, tradition instead of formulas, sound principles instead of phantom promises of Utopias, the great role of peacemaker, of spiritual and material leader, is an honourable and important role which you have carried out, showing the world what genuine civilization meant during the Constitutional Crisis, the Coronation and during the deaths of your great Monarchs. You rightly may exclaim: 'Understand pagans and give way because God is with us,' and your understanding is based on genuine knowledge. In my opinion, having passed through wars and revolution, it was the lack of knowledge and therefore of civilization that was at the root of most of the mischief of the world. The acquiring of genuine knowledge and the imparting of it to others is civilization; the acquiring of half-truths and developing these into supreme lies is Bolshevism and chaos. The parting of the ways is there and the right one must be chosen here and now individually, by groups and by whole nations before it is too late. . . .

Some years ago, at the time when the Caucasus was seething with unrest against the Tsarist Central Government of Petersburg, I had an opportunity of crossing the mountains from Tiflis to Vladikavkas. The Tsar's Viceroy in Tiflis was at that time Prince Voronzow-Dashkow, a friend of my father's. When I went to see him in his Tiflis palace, he thought that my plan was sheer madness, as the mountain passes were full of revolutionaries and brigands, and he considered it certain that I would lose my life. He was prepared to give me an escort of a couple of hundred Cossacks, though he thought that the mountain revolutionaries would only regard this as provocation and defiance on the part of the Tsarist authorities and that it would therefore obviously lead to bloodshed. But as I was young and trusted in luck I intended to carry out my plans.

Having taken the advice of an old Ingush (a mountain warrior tribe) who had been my father's batman in the Turkish campaign of 1877, I dressed as a Cherkess, bought a horse, took the guide he provided for me, and set off for a pass in the central part of the Caucasus. At times I followed the high road, at others I chose the steep mountain paths. When I had penetrated well into the mountains I realized things were

getting rather 'hot,' for shooting was going on, people were seen hurrying to take refuge behind rocks, and in one place I saw a whole caravan of women who had been robbed and left naked, all their men having fled or been killed. I was thankful to get into the high mountain zones which, in their glorious magnificence, seemed to be immune from human passions either good or bad, and seemed to comfort me with their silent magnitude.

Late on the second day my guide and I reached a distant Aoul. An Aoul is a mountain village usually consisting of some huts in the rocks, a square as large as space permitted, and the residence of a Tsarist official supervising that part of the district. At that time there was no official, for he had either fled or been murdered. My Ingush guide took me to a friend of his, and in the dusk we dismounted. On our way to the Aoul my guide had told me its story in broken Russian, with additions in Ingush and Georgian, assisted by many signs. It was supposed to be full of prophets and wizards who, he said, knew the paths of God and could see into you as the rising sun into the soul of the approaching traveller. I was tired, but I wanted to see one of these people. So we left our horses in the smoky dusk of the narrow lanes of the Aoul and found our way to the Saclia (hut) of the Wizard who, by the way, was a Mohammedan.

We reached his Saclia without trouble, apart from having to take strong action against the aggressive dogs of the non-Mohammedan part of the Aoul. My guide and I entered the Saclia after long preliminaries spoken in Ingush. We saw an old man looking as wise as the peaks of snowy Elbruz which hovered far above us in the rays of the setting sun. He said through my guide that he agreed to answer my questions as he knew that my father and I were friends of the people (apparently my father's fame had reached him through my guide, who had been provided with the family history by the ex-batman who had provided me with the guide). So, bowing to each other, touching first cap, then heart, and pointing to the end of our high boots, we sat on the earthy floor. The flickering rush-lights provided a romantic setting. After the preliminaries of 'God protects good people'—I obviously being one of them—I asked: "You speak of God: what is God?"

He looked at me suspiciously, and I could see that my guide thought this a very inadequate and misplaced joke. But the Wizard began to gesticulate and said something to my guide for him to translate:

"God is the force which helps us to conquer our enemies," came the translation.

"But haven't our enemies their own gods to protect them against us?" I asked.

"No; their gods are devils. Ours is the only God," he replied and then, resuming his composure, he continued monotonously: "There are troublesome times ahead for people. . . . Dark indeed, because people and nations will try to play with God and Devil at one and the same time. . . . God does not stand such things as playing with Him and the Devil at the same time, and the Devil takes his chance. You cannot fight with God and Devil, using both . . . it is a forlorn game. It is like putting your head between hammer and anvil. . . . God protects, the Devil attacks. . . . That has been, is, and will always be, and our generation, clever as they may be, will not change that in the same way as it is impossible to change our Elbruz into a valley. . . . The troubles of our days are not that each of our tribes believes that their God is the only God, but because all of them try to play up to the Devil at the same time as to God. . . . Either it must be God or the Devil," he went on. "Or, as your Holy Writ says, you cannot serve God and Mammon as well. . . . God and the Devil are both comfortable in this world, but do not mix them up, because it is you who will suffer," he added definitely.

Leaving the Wizard and trying to find our way back to our Saclia in the cool night air, these words seemed to engrave themselves on my mind. But I have often wondered whether the main reason of troubles was that each tribe, each group, each nation thinks and acts as though *only his God is God, and and that the others are Devils.* But after pondering on this and on the Caucasian Wizard's words I came to the conclusion that this is a lesser sin than to play up to the Devil and God with the restricted means of an individual, group or nation, trying to accommodate change and often cancel the wise laws of nature which existed and will exist longer than we. . . .

In a village church during the War I saw a woman lifting her small child in her arms so that he could kiss the ikons on the wall according to the old Russian custom. Lifting him up to the ikon of St. George and the Dragon—representing the Devil—she made him kiss first St. George and then the Dragon, saying:

"Kiss this one too, my child, do not be afraid—for do you know where you will be after your death?"

The words of the Ingush wizard came to my mind—was it the beginning of the end, I asked myself? And this was in the spring of 1917.

SINCE COMPLETING THE FINAL chapters of this book I have made an extensive tour of Europe, and have thus been a witness of several outstanding events in this 'Melting Pot.' These are worth describing, for they bear directly on my attempts to prove that Europe, after passing through wars and revolutions and suffering from a period of atrophy and degeneration, is now discovering that it possesses the constructive elements of national revival. Each nation is finding this in its own way according to its national characteristics and traditions.

Let us therefore examine the events that have occurred in various countries between the autumn of 1937 and the spring of 1938.

The principles laid down at the time of Mr. Baldwin's Government, principles based on English tradition, have found concrete expression and been yet further developed in the policy of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, a man whom both friend and foe must recognize as a statesman of wide outlook and a *Realpolitiker*. The period of flimsy internationalism, the slogans about Collective Security and the League of Nations and other similar wild goose chases are now things of the past. An indirect proof of this is the fact that the membership of the so-called League of Nations Union and similar organizations has dwindled to a few tens of thousands, and these are so strongly pro-Soviet that nobody takes them seriously.

Earl Baldwin laid the foundations of the great work carried out by Neville Chamberlain; the enlargement of the social, economic, and political basis which, in the fullest sense of the word, forms the foundation of the National Government. In home affairs this process of sorting out or cleansing has led to an increase in the number of nationally minded people, irrespective of the limits of strictly political groups, who have recognized that in a world of storm and stress the British Empire can remain strong and invulnerable only under the leadership of a National Government, a Government which, by means of evolution, brings within its ranks all genuinely English elements, to whatever party they may belong.

On the other side we see the crystallization of the so-called 'Opposition Groups,' from which the National Government is day by day extracting every element capable of being moulded into a national asset and leaving in the groups only

the holders of extremist tendencies and fantastic un-English ideas of rabid Internationalism. Apart from this constructive process of stabilization, the 'Opposition' has become increasingly isolated and increasingly extremist and has exposed itself to the view of the rank and file.

To-day the so-called United Front Movement has been discussed from all angles and all methods have been tried. We know all about Mr. Winston Churchill, how he is hammering away at the necessity of enforcing in Europe the remnants of the Versailles Treaty under the protection of his panacea—the League of Nations. Everybody knows that the League of Nations is either an unattainable ideal or else a proof of the saying that the way to Hell is paved with good intentions. But in the mind of Mr. Churchill, Diehard though he may be, there is the concrete idea of a strong British alliance with France and, in view of the French alliance with Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia, with these countries as well. This is an extremely dangerous proposition, for it means that the possibility of involving Great Britain in a European war would depend on these countries, and especially on Soviet Russia, and also that the League of Nations would be turned into a 'League over Nations.'

Further towards the Left than Mr. Churchill in the 'Opposition Group' we see the everlasting figure of Mr. Lloyd George, who is openly preaching a crusade against the Totalitarian states of Europe and is working for an immediate European war by abolishing non-intervention in Spain, so that England and France (Popular Front France is a branch of an alliance of the Second and Third Internationals) together with Soviet Russia may help the Communist International and its ramifications known as the 'Legal Spanish Government' against the Spanish National forces led by that gallant Spanish patriot, Franco.

Yet further towards the Left we see the Socialist League, the Independent Labour Party, and various Members of Parliament such as the Duchess of Atholl, the Dean of Canterbury, and the Communist Party, all discussing Soviet Russia and demanding an alliance of Great Britain with this anti-man and anti-God régime. Although this group is not very large, it is very outspoken and boisterous, yet even so the International Press in its search for sensational news cannot invest it with sufficient importance to hold up the mighty national revival of Great Britain in the midst of universal turmoil.

We see how Neville Chamberlain is gradually working to consolidate England and the British Empire from within and making it strong from without, how he is concluding treaties

with nations which have been friendly for centuries and were only turned into enemies during the period of international atrophy following the war, and during the time of pro-Soviet propaganda resulting in the false pretence of Democracy. The aims of Great Britain have now been definitely expressed and are therefore a stabilizing factor for the rest of the world. In unequivocal terms England has declared that she stands for the peace of the world, but that she will not hesitate to protect her vital interests, i.e. the freedom of ways and communications, including free passage through the Mediterranean, and that she will stand by her obligations which derive from the treaties of friendship with Portugal, Iraq, and Egypt. She has also declared her decision regarding security at home and the independence of France and Belgium.

As to the League of Nations, she has declared her willingness to assist in reforming it and turning it into a universal body, not by force, but by the free decision of all Powers. For immediate and practical purposes, therefore, bilateral agreements are preferable to vague international formulas. The balance of power based on dividing Europe into two enemy camps is refuted by England, because it would lead directly to a European war as in 1914; therefore the European concert must be restored without the interference of those international forces which are working for ulterior and non-European aims such as World Revolution.

With regard to the League of Nations, we see how, in spite of its idealist aims, it is falling to pieces under the pressure of the needs of everyday life. We see how Chile, once its most ardent supporter, has lost all hope in the institution and is leaving its ranks. Switzerland, anxious to avoid being drawn into international wars, ideological or other, wishes to leave the League and refuses to accept the principles of collective action and collective sanctions. China and Abyssinia—the latter now an integral part of the Italian Empire—are hopelessly struggling to retain their places and have their causes upheld by the League. We see how bilateral agreements are becoming increasingly efficient and far-reaching.

A striking example of this is the brilliant Anglo-Irish Treaty, during the negotiations for which De Valera, formerly an implacable enemy of Great Britain, declared that Chamberlain's Government was the best and most honest government one could deal with. Smaller countries are following the same path of bilateral agreements with outstanding success. Turkey and Greece, formerly inveterate enemies, have signed a treaty of friendship and neutrality which amounts to a treaty of

alliance and is beneficial to both. On the part of non-signatories to such treaties a new and curious outlook, due to the national revival of nations, is becoming evident in the fact that such nations no longer regard the treaties of others with suspicion, but look upon them favourably.

In spite of the efforts of the warmongering international Press, which accuses Chamberlain of the worst sins of international Imperialism, Hitler Germany unanimously welcomed the Anglo-Italian agreement in which Hitler recognized another step towards the pacification of Western Europe. Only the Soviets are opposed to this new outlook: they are continuing their policy of self-destruction and are working against the appeasement of Europe by declaring that bilateral agreements are dangerous, quite overlooking such treaties as they themselves signed, such as the Russo-Mongolian and others.

Many danger-spots are still in existence, such as the forty million Minorities, including the Sudeten-Germans. But with patience, and by following the sound advice of England, this problem will, I hope, also be settled—unless the roots of Soviet propaganda have gone too deep into Czech ground. Hitler's visit to Italy and the greetings exchanged by the representatives of that axis were genuine, and not a word was said about any war aims. This was a hopeful sign, and the signing of the Anglo-Italian Treaty which took place at that time proves that the 'axis' is not directed against any of the Western Powers. Here it would not be out of place to quote Talleyrand's words: 'Get this into your head: if the English Constitution is destroyed, the civilization of the world will be shaken to its foundation.'

Now let us look at France. During these past fateful months there has been a see-saw display of the political groups forming the so-called Popular Front Government: M. Blum goes and M. Chautemps comes; M. Chautemps goes and M. Blum comes; now and again a limited number of others enter the game: Daladier, Herriot, etc. In a country of which the backbone is the Tiers État, with its strong sense of private property and principles dating back to the French Revolution, the idea of a Popular Front Government is by no means acceptable to the large mass of the people, who think that all these international politicians are under the influence of the Second and Third International. Even if it is true that the Frenchman's heart is on his left side, but his pocket on his right, he will not allow that left to interfere with his pocket.

It appears to me that the ordinary Frenchman, who usually refers to politics as *une sale besogne*, is only marking time and giving politicians enough rope wherewith to hang themselves.

Then, as in all revolutions, the Tiers État will step in and put an end to these experiments on the living body of France—and of a National France at that. The bankruptcy of home and foreign policy of the Front Populaire has become obvious to the Frenchman in the street: to the peasant, the soldier, the *rentier*—in a word, to the bulk of the nation. One day the nation will present the bill and will clean out the Popular Fronts which have nothing in common with the national, and therefore natural, revival of France.

Thousands of French lives, millions of francs, French technical experts and French machinery have been and still are being poured into the bottomless pit of Spanish Bolshevism, the bankruptcy of which is already becoming obvious under the victorious blows of Franco's nationally revived Spain, which is clearing out the remainder of the Red scum that invaded the territory. It would be useless to assert that Franco's victory is due to German and Italian help, for such help is more than counterbalanced by the assistance that pours in across the Pyrenees from the French Popular Front, backed by Soviet Russia and other countries who falsely call themselves 'democratic.'

Franco's victory is a victory of a genuine, strong, and national Spain against the forces of international Bolshevism, the sole aim of which is to enforce world revolution on the one hand and to bring about a European conflict on the other. But the days of the Red bacchanalia in Spain are numbered and, although it will take long for the undeserved wounds of a happy and nationally revived Spain to heal, there will be consolation in the knowledge that once more she has saved humanity and civilization from the Red Asiatic plague.

Meanwhile the Red despoilers of the world are trying to undermine the so-called Capitalist countries by wholesale robbery. Thus in the Red provinces of China hundreds of millions of English investments have gone up in Red smoke. The same has happened in the Red Spanish territories as long ago in Russia, when she turned Bolshevist. Hundreds of millions of English investments have lately been confiscated in Mexico, where the 'Government' has passed from the Red stage of nationalization to the still redder stage when other people's property is handed over to the Red workmen's syndicates. And if Spain was once earmarked by Lenin as the next country for Soviet experiments, it is to the credit of his associate Trotsky, now comfortably settled in Mexico, that these Mexican experiments have begun.

Let us now study the events that have occurred during the past months in Continental Europe east of the Rhine.

The immense development of national feeling and national endeavour of a reborn Germany, whether one approves of the methods adopted or not, has resulted in events which could be easily foreseen by an unbiased onlooker, but which were disregarded by the professional politicians. The consciousness of being a German and all that this knowledge entails could not be cramped into the strictly defined frontiers of post-War Germany. It was Hitler who reawakened a national Germany and gave it self-respect by a number of great achievements, such as reducing unemployment from seven and a half million to a few hundred thousand, building up a strong united country, putting an end to class warfare, creating a first-class army and air force, replacing industrial dependence on foreign countries by scientific industrial achievements at home. Over and above this he has succeeded in awakening the consciousness of the German nation, a consciousness that builds up the grandeur of all nations at all times.

It would be ridiculous to expect that the part of the German race that was entrenched behind the artificial frontiers of Austria and suffering all the miseries due to defeat in the War would not seek its salvation by uniting with the rest of the German nation, and benefiting by the national revival brought about by Hitler. Austria, a head without a body, was the cockpit of international intrigue and was easy prey for the conflicting interests directed by Moscow and its associates in Europe.

The reuniting of this part of the German race is undoubtedly a stabilizing factor in Central Europe. Much criticism has been launched against Hitler for the methods he adopted; yet he could hardly have been expected to ask the League's permission to reunite Austria and Germany, for the League in its present form is no more than an instrument of the Versailles Dictate and a veiled effort of Soviet Russia and the French Popular Front to entice England into an active anti-totalitarian policy of war.

Farther south there is the rich Danube basin surrounded by the Balkan States. It is obvious that Czechoslovakia ought to have learnt a lesson from Austria and come to some kind of agreement with its Sudeten-German population of three and a half million, and ought to uphold the principle of self-determination to which, after all, it owes its own existence. It ought to allow the Sudeten-German population to choose its own fate and then, after getting rid of that dangerous and national Irridenta, build up either a strong nationally united homogeneous Czechoslovakia or else a federal state with the Slovaks and Ukrainians on the lines of Switzerland.

On the Balkan Peninsula we have States such as Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Greece, and part of Turkey. Here, French influence has been decreasing during the past months as a result of the Popular Front muddle and the way has been cleared for the influence of other Powers. Thus in Czechoslovakia we see the upper hand taken by Russia, while in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Roumania commercial penetration has been extensively and profitably carried out by Germany. The peaceful influence of England is becoming increasingly apparent all over that part of the world. The Balkan States as a whole, however loosely they may be united in a Balkan Entente, understand that a divided influence of intriguing Powers, such as pre-War Russia and Austria, would be detrimental to their existence, and the work of the Balkan Entente, which is based on concrete co-operation for the Balkan States, has made considerable headway during the past months.[1]

Turkey, a member of the Balkan group, has forged links of commercial and political friendship with the other States. As the trustee of that focus of historical interest, the Straits, she realized that Russia was useless to her, all the more so as Russia regarded the Straits as a gateway for her political intrigues in the Mediterranean. The opening of the Straits to Soviet Russia, several months before the outbreak of the Spanish war, was widely exploited by her as soon as the civil war started. This increasing interference of Soviet Russia caused Turkey, under the leadership of the *Realpolitiker* Ataturk, to work for two aims : the organization of a friendly and stable relationship with the Balkan States, and friendly relations with the Great Powers and Iran. The Great Powers, on the other hand, realizing that Turkey holds the key to the situation not only in the Straits and the Balkans, but on the Eastern Mediterranean coast as well, are willing to compensate her for her 'friendly' co-operation. I have no doubt at all that the *rapprochement* that is being sought for between Turkey and the West European Powers will take concrete forms at a not distant date.

Let us now consider the States which form a barrier between the western world and the Asiatic-Bolshevik idea, i.e. the Border States, Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Poland as well as the Ukraine, which latter is bound to play a prominent part in the future both of Eastern Europe and Soviet Russia.

The Border States, formed some twenty years ago, were able to withstand the onslaught of Bolshevist infiltration. They are

[1] In August 1938 Bulgaria joined the Balkan Entente as a full member and, by general consent of the other members, dismissed all the restrictions of the Neuilly 'Peace' Treaty.

national States of the Tiers État type and base their power on private property, strong nationalism, and religion rather than on collectivism, internationalism, and atheism. Finland has fared best of all because of her old culture (her Parliament is one of the oldest in Europe and her women were the first to obtain the franchise) and her hard-working population; she has never passed through a period of inflation, and has always punctually paid her foreign debts. Fearing the Bolshevist onslaught, these States have sought to establish close contacts between themselves and the western Great Powers. Lithuania, however, was the only country which had no diplomatic relations with her neighbour Poland as a result of the Polish occupation of her ancient capital Vilno in 1920–21, and she was thus forced to rely on the treaties of friendship and military assistance entered into with Soviet Russia. But she had a rude awakening when these treaties of friendship and support were put to the test: when Poland presented an Ultimatum recently she appealed to her 'Ally,' but as no assistance was forthcoming from Russia she had to yield to Poland on all points in order to save herself from military occupation.

Poland, in spite of her policy of playing up to both Germany and Soviet Russia and of playing the part of a Great Power in spite of her internal controversies, has yet fared well in her endeavours to manœuvre between controversial European influences. Poland has heavy financial obligations towards France, and the French influence on which she was increasingly dependent has gradually been weakened by the Popular Front policy, so she has been forced to seek a *mariage de convenance* with a Germany whose strength is steadily growing. Some years ago Germany wisely concluded a treaty with Poland, postponing the settlement of the Corridor problem which was one of the most appalling inequities of post-Versailles Europe. The military dictatorship instituted by Marshal Pilsudski is still, several years after his death, in the throes of indecision and party controversy. Matters are becoming worse from day to day owing to the difficulty of protecting a long and abnormal frontier alive with a heterogeneous population, more than half of which belongs to the National Minorities that are persecuted by the predominant Poles. Political instability has followed with her Minorities, Poland has antagonized them and paved the way for anti-Polish feelings.

The brunt of Polish attacks are borne by the Ukrainian minority, which, however, forms a considerable majority in the densely populated regions of Galicia and Volhynia; of six and a half million Ukrainians many thousand patriots are

in Polish prisons, while in the Soviet Ukraine thirty-three million Ukrainians are regarded as enemies by the leaders of Soviet Moscow. It is the tacit policy both of the Soviets and of Poland to disintegrate and destroy the Ukrainian national spirit, and no efforts are spared by either country to bring about this destruction. Soviet and Polish *agents provocateurs* are working hand in hand on both sides of the frontier—and elsewhere as well.

In all other countries where Ukrainians have found sympathy and support, or where many of them have settled (in Canada they form the third largest nationality, the United States has over 1,500,000 of them, Manchukuo over 100,000, Czechoslovakia about 500,000, Roumania 1,100,000), there these Bolshevik and Polish agents are working under false pretences, opening bureaux, societies, committees, etc., supposed to be for the protection of Ukrainian interests. In fact, however, they all work in ways that Poland and Moscow regard as favourable for spreading false propaganda against the Ukrainians and use them as scapegoats for anti-national activities. The usual plan is for these agents to assert that they are trying to protect them from Hitler's dreams of expansion. But national Ukrainian forces have made great headway in counteracting these activities; they have cleared the atmosphere and have succeeded in separating the chaff from the wheat.

The Ukrainians, who are conservative by tradition, know well enough who are their friends, and are not easily caught in such Polish-Bolshevik traps. The Hetman movement, which I have already described, has achieved considerable success in the past months. The tour undertaken by the Hetmanitch, Danilo Skoropadsky, to all the Ukrainian settlements of Canada and the United States became a series of enthusiastic receptions, not only by members of the Hetman-Organization, but by patriots outside the party. It was described, not only in the world Ukrainian Press, but in the vernacular local Press of the Canadian and American towns where the festivities took place, and the mayors of towns solemnly presented His Highness with addresses of welcome. There is no doubt that the Ukrainian problem is coming more and more to the fore in Eastern Europe, and it will in the near future provide the world at large with a vivid example of the reawakening of a nation and the resuscitation of its life and traditions.

In this connection there are certain events that have taken place in the 'Soviet Paradise' during the past few months which are worthy of consideration. I refer particularly to the

assertions that Russia is becoming a democratic State or a stabilized unit and that she is passing from Revolution to Evolution. These ideas have been completely shattered by the events of the past months when, in the course of various law-suits, Stalin, Dimitroff, and others have tried to show non-dictators how the Revolution has liquidated not only the actual Opposition, but any potential one as well. It must not be forgotten that of the dozen members of Lenin's *Politbureau* (chief directing centre of the Communist International) all but two have by this time been declared to be traitors, spies, or foreign agents; they have all declared themselves to be guilty of these crimes—not only during the past few years, but from 1918 onward! The only two who are now left of these original members are Stalin and Trotsky. If these crimes have actually been committed, then one would be justified in wondering what is the value of a régime of which the leaders and founders are monstrous criminals; or, if they have not been committed and the confessions extorted by some unknown means, what is the régime worth if it has to rely on such systems?

With the help of the OGPU Stalin has 'liquidated' the leading figures of the Red Army; with the help of the Red Army he has 'liquidated' the leaders of the OGPU. And nevertheless this mass-terror and persecution goes on and on.

The Minister of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R., which is an agricultural country *par excellence*, confessed at the Plenary Session of the Communist Party that 'in no other country is the agricultural system so badly disorganized, involved and undermined as in ours.' It may be remarked that the same applies to transport, industry, etc.

In order to retain the upper hand over his confederates Stalin employs a simple and Oriental method: first he splits the *Politbureau* into two factions on no matter what issue; he fosters the strife between them and finally joins the majority party. The minority gradually goes to perdition: first its members are dismissed from their Soviet posts, then they are dismissed from the Party, then they are brought before the courts, and then slaughtered. Stalin thereupon fills their vacant places by nonentities of his own choosing and again creates another issue in order to get rid of other potential opponents in the *Politbureau*. This system gives rise to the erroneous impression abroad that Stalin's general line is vacillating and at times contradictory. It is, however, a fact that he and his henchmen of the World Revolution have so far not succeeded in educating a 100 per cent Communist younger generation to take their place in the future.

Some months ago the Russian Press gave great prominence to a letter written by Stalin to a certain Ivanov, member of the Comsomol (Communist Youth Organization). This letter replied to Ivanov's question as to whether Soviet Russia had given up the idea of World Revolution and was now only working to build up Socialism in one state. As this problem was of great interest at the moment it was obvious that Ivanov's letter had been inspired 'from above' in order to give Stalin an opportunity for stating categorically that the Soviet system and its leaders have only one ultimate aim from which nothing can deter them, and that this aim is—WORLD REVOLUTION.

It is interesting to note that in the non-Russian territories of the U.S.S.R. the Comsomol is rapidly losing members. In the upper strata of the Communist Party nobody can be sure of what the morrow will bring, thus the only way of getting and retaining power is by way of bayonets, but, as someone once rightly remarked: 'One can do many things with bayonets except sit on them.'

The salvation of Europe and the Russian continent lies in a healthy revival of the nations inhabiting them. The flood of nationalism is rising, but the Bolshevik dam is still strong. For how long it will be able to hold out is a question to which the near future will give a definite reply.

In summing up I would like to explain how, in my opinion, the events of which I have been a spectator appear to be crystallizing in the turmoil of the European Melting Pot. Post-War Europe, which brought destruction to the vanquished and a false sense of security to the victors, has also brought in its trail extremism, degradation, depression, and chaos. Above all, it has split the European concert into two camps struggling against each other. Only in such an unhealthy atmosphere could Bolshevism, Marxism, and all the destructive forces of evil exist and find recognition. But the era of this Bacchanalia is passing, for the revival of the European nations is beginning, each according to its own historical traditions. The student of modern history must, however, keep the right perspective, for half the miseries of the world would disappear if judgment were based on more general knowledge. If the revival of some nation differs from that of our own, that is no reason for us to treat it with contempt, for that would only allow renewed warlike instincts to reappear. Restraint and genuine compromise is a worthy price to pay for promoting European unity and, therefore, civilization.

THE END
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